HUMANISM IN THE WORKS OF C. RAJAGOPALACHARI

A thesis submitted to

Bharathidasan University, Tiruchirappalli - 620 024

for the award of the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN ENGLISH

by

S. PAPU BENJAMIN ELANGO

Lecturer Selection Grade

Department of English, St. Joseph's College (Autonomous), Tiruchirappalli

under the guidance of

Rev. Dr. A. SEBASTIAN ANAND, S.J.

Reader in English

St. Joseph's College (Autonomous), Tiruchirappalli

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

ST. JOSEPH'S COLLEGE (AUTONOMOUS)

(Nationally Re-accredited with A+ - College with Potential for Excellence
Affiliated to Bharathidasan University)

TIRUCHIRAPPALLI - 620 002, INDIA

OCTOBER 2006

Rev. Dr. A. Sebastian Anand, S.J., M.A., M.Phil., Ph.D.
Reader
Department of English
St. Joseph's College (Autonomous)
Tiruchirappalli - 620 002
India

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled **HUMANISM IN THE WORKS OF C. RAJAGOPALACHARI** submitted by **Mr. S. PAPU BENJAMIN ELANGO** is a record of original and independent work done by the candidate during the period of study under my supervision and guidance and that the thesis has not previously formed the basis for the award to the candidate of any Degree, Diploma, Associateship, Fellowship or other title.

Rev. Dr. A. Sebastian Anand S. J.
Research Advisor

Place : Tiruchirappalli-2
Date : 23-10-2006

corrected thesis

S. Papu Benjamin Elango
Lecturer Selection Grade

Department of English
St. Joseph's College (Autonomous)
Tiruchirappalli - 620002

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the work embodied in this thesis has been originally carried out by me under the guidance and supervision of **Rev. Dr. A. Sebastian Anand, S. J.**, Reader in English, Department of English, St. Joseph's College (Autonomous), Tiruchirappalli - 620 002. This work has not been submitted either in whole or in part of any other degree or diploma at any other University.

Place : Tiruchirappalli
Date : 23-10-2006

S. Papu Benjamin Elango
Research Scholar

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

With a profound sense of gratitude I express my heartfelt thanks imbued with a high sense of reverence to my noble and eminent research advisor Rev. Fr. Dr. A Sebastian Anand, S.J., M.A., M.Phil., Ph.D., Reader in English, Department of English, St. Joseph's College (Autonomous), Tiruchirappalli for his *excellent and erudite guidance. His consistent, meticulous, objective and scholarly* supervision enabled me to accomplish this academic pursuit. He has been always a pragmatic impetus to me and an immense source of academic inspiration and scholarly enlightenment.

I express my sincere and deep sense of gratitude to Prof. P. V. Cecil, M.A., M.Phil., Head of the Department of English, St. Joseph's College (Autonomous), Tiruchirappalli and to my lovable and respectable colleagues for their unstinted support, encouragement and valuable suggestions.

My humble and sincere thanks are due to Rev. Dr. S. Lazar, S.J., Rector, Rev. Dr. A. Joseph, S.J., Secretary, Rev. Dr. R. Rajarathinam, S.J., Principal, for their benign blessings, magnanimous moral support and academic encouragement.

My hearty thanks to Rev. Dr. A. G. Leonard, S.J., former Principal, St. Joseph's College (Autonomous), Rev. Dr. D. Selvanayakam, S.J. former Secretary, St. Joseph's College (Autonomous) for their yeoman support and encouragement.

I express my gratitude to Rev. Dr. A. Suresh, Director, St. John Paul Inter-faith Dialogue Centre, Tiruchirappalli, for a comfortable and serene accommodation during the completion of the thesis. My heartfelt thanks to Rev. Fr. A. Irudayam Antony, former Vicar Forane, Tiruchirappalli Diocese for his constant impetus to finish this thesis.

My special thanks to Prof. G. Balakrishnan, former Vice-Principal and Head of the Department of English, Prof. G. Ravindran, LSG, Department of English and

Prof. Garnet Fernandez, LSG, Department of English, St. Joseph's College (Autonomous) for their enlightening academic support.

I am greatly indebted to my beloved father Dr. S. Samimuthu, M.A., Ph.D., former Vice-Principal and Head of the Department of Tamil, St. Joseph's College (Autonomous) for his paternal moral support and fillip to accomplish this academic endeavour.

I acknowledge the immense help rendered by the Librarians of Bharathidasan University, Tiruchirappalli, St. Joseph's College (Autonomous), Tiruchirappalli, Loyola College (Autonomous), Chennai, Rajaji Birth Centenary Library, T. Nagar, Chennai and Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Chennai.

My sincere thanks to Mr. S. Jesudoss for his elegant and perfect typing work.

S. Papu Benjamin Elango

NOTE ON DOCUMENTATION

1. The thesis follows the Parenthetical Documentation and the Research Methodology prescribed in the Sixth Edition of **MLA Handbook for Writers of Research Papers** by Joseph Gibaldi.

2. Wherever words of Indian languages are incorporated, they are italicised. Their meanings are given in alphabetical order in Appendix.

3. The longer titles of the books have been shortened as indicated below for referring to them in the body of the thesis:

Shortened Titles	Titles of the Books
Americana	The Encyclopedia Americana
Facets	Facets of Rajaji
Funk & Wagnalls	Funk & Wagnalls New Encyclopedia
Galaxy	Galaxy of Indian Writings in English
Hinduism	Hinduism: Doctrine and Way of Life
History	A History of Indian English Literature
Indian Contribution	The Indian Contribution to English Literature
Indian Writing	Indian Writing in English
Jail Diary	A Jail Diary
Kural	Tirukkural
Kural	Kural: The Great Book of Tiru-Valluvar
New Encyclopaedia	The New Encyclopaedia Britannica
Rescue	Rescue Democracy from Money-Power
Satyam	Satyam Eva Jayate
Speeches	Speeches Delivered by H. E. Sri. Chakravarti Rajagopalachari
Stories	Stories for the Innocent
The Voice of Truth	The Selected Words of Mahatma Gandhi: The Voice of Truth

CONTENTS

****

CHAPTER - I

HUMANISM DOWN THE AGES: THE GLOBAL AND THE INDIAN PERSPECTIVES

Chapter I

HUMANISM DOWN THE AGES : THE GLOBAL AND THE INDIAN PERSPECTIVES

The significance of the advocacy of Humanism is perceived imperative by the researcher, especially in the present postmodern, dismal, global scenario of the depletion and erosion of the basic humanistic values. Such a bleak picture of the current social milieu, devoid of humanism demands literature to provide its panacea, to alleviate the maladies of humanity, which confronts violence, terrorism, lovelessness, despair, delusion and disillusionment.

Many literary luminaries have contributed their mite to the bolstering of the humanistic values by their immortal works, in the East and in the West. One such seminal mind is C. Rajagopalachari, an incisive humanistic thinker, speaker and writer in the realm of Indian writing in English. His literary works in various genres embody a cogent and a poignant multi-dimensional humanistic vision.

The study of the humanism in the works of C. Rajagopalachari necessitates a comprehensive, systematic, chronological survey of the growth of Humanism, its pervasive ambience, shades of difference in its usage in the East and the West. An etymological analysis of the term "Humanism" is a must in its semantic genesis and philosophic multiplicity into various types established by varied cultural, social, political, philosophic and spiritual contexts down the ages in the West and in the East.

Tony Davies in his scholarly book **Humanism** says, "Humanism is a word with a very complex history and an unusually wide range of possible meanings and contexts ..." (2). Davies proceeds to explore the origin of the word "Humanism" and corroborates that it comes from "Humanismus", a term used by the educationlist Friedrich Immanuel Niethammer to denote the curriculum of a high school and a University based on what has been known "since the Middle Ages as the study of ancient Greeks and Latin and of the literature, history and the culture of the peoples who spoke them" (9-10). Tony Davies traces the root-word of humanism to, "humble (humilis) from the Latin humus, earth or ground; hence homo, earth-being and humanus, earthy, human" (124).

In the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries the word "humanism" was not in existence in Italy or in any part of the world. But there was a term, "Studia humanitatis", or "Study of humanity", which referred to the study of the works of Greek and Roman authors and it denoted also the "Platonic", "Aristotelean" and "Ciceronian ideas and values to contemporary life". The scholars involved in such studies called themselves "Umanisti" or "humanists" (Davies 94).

The Encyclopaedia Britannica explains that "Humanism" is a term derived from the Latin word, "humanus" which means "human". "Homo" means, "man" and "homines" means "mankind" (11: 876).

The World Book states that though the word "humanism" gained a common parlance in 19th century, it had been applicable to the intellectual and cultural developments in the previous eras. The word "Umanista" referred to the teacher of classical languages and literatures in Renaissance Italy. It stands in contrast with the

word "legist" which means teacher of law. In the 15th century "studia humanitas" included Grammar, Rhetoric, History, Literature and Moral Philosophy now termed as, "humanities". The rediscovery of ancient Greek and Latin texts inspired these studies. The complete works of Plato and Aristotle were translated and studied, more accurately. The humanistic spirit of classical writings had a stupendous impact on Renaissance scholars (384).

Tony Davies states, "...most of the early humanists in contrast saw their task not as the discovery of the future but as the recovery of the past" (72). In the early period of Renaissance, the humanistic movement started with the dynamic rediscovery of the classical works of Greeks and Romans. The Humanists were much interested, in the ancient classics, as guiding spirits to the proper understanding of life and as the models of literary style. This impetus rose, in contrast to the emphasis of many medieval scholars, who propounded that Life on Earth, should be despised. They considered human beings as creatures of sins and vices, so they were destined to devote their lives to win Heaven. But **The World Book** corroborates that the Humanists rejected this sinful nature of humanity and began to look at life from a new angle of hope, during this revival of learning, which began in Italy in 1300s. This revival pervaded France, Germany, the Netherlands and England. In 1500, Humanism soared to the heights of an international fellowship of scholars (384).

In a stipulated, specific sense, Humanism means the Renaissance literary cult of the so called New Learning. **Encyclopedia Americana** presents the fact that the classics were treated as the store houses of higher human values responsible for the

formation of the "free, responsible individual" (553). The word is derived from the 15th century Italian word "humanista" or teacher of the "studia humanitatis or humanities" (553).

Fundamentally Humanism is considered to be an attitude which emphasizes the dignity and worth of the individual. The basic tenet of Humanism is that people are rational beings who have the capacity for truth and innate goodness. In principle, Humanism reiterates the significance of human beings, their nature and their place in the universe. The Humanists, religious or non-religious, agree that human beings are the centre of their study. Humanism basically teaches that every person possesses dignity and worth and so everybody should command the respect of every other person (**World Book**, 9: 384).

Humanism refers to an attitude of mind which reserves prime importance to man and to his faculties, affairs, mundane aspirations and well being. It is also considered to be any philosophical or ethical system, basically upholding the concepts of the dignity and freedom of man. **The New Caxton Encyclopedia** defines Humanism as, "a philosophy of life and perspective on the world that is grounded in the belief that the proper study of mankind is man and the universe around him" (10: 3122-23).

Humanism is defined by the **Webster's Third International Dictionary** as, "a doctrine, set of attitudes or way of life centred upon human interests or values"(2: 1100).

Thus Humanism indicates an attitude of mind which gives primary importance to man and his talents, to human contexts and human aspirations.

The distinctions between man and animal and between man and the divine, were systematized by the Greek and Roman classical writers. The fallible nature and the human mortality as the finale, always reduce the human to a tragic plight.

But the Medieval Christian doctrine of Immortality, distinguished Man from Animal, based on human intimacy with God through the Church, which spells the basic and only meaning of human life on the earth.

The Renaissance humanists rebelled against this Medieval Christian tenet, which belittled man's nature and his potentialities. They began to assert the innate value and worth of man's life before death and the greatness of his talents and potentialities.

When the ecclesiastical influence began to lose its impetus, Humanism revolted against "secular orthodoxies", which "subordinated man to the abstract concepts of political or biological theory" (**Encyclopaedia Britannica**, 11: 876).

The humanists share, the common background of the literary and the scholarly ideals of the deep study of the classics of the ancient age. The foremost aim of the humanists reveals their inclination towards, "the education and moral perfection of man - the combination of eloquence and wisdom, of intellectual and practical abilities" (**Dictionary of the History of Ideas**, 2: 518).

Humanism flourished as a historical movement in the life and thought of ancient Greece and Rome. As a general perspective, it consistently received articulation during the different phases in human history and its different historical periods. The **Cambridge Dictionary** indicates that Humanism still continues "to furnish a central leitmotif of western civilization" (397).

According to the **Cambridge Dictionary**, there are two positions, competing namely the spiritual position which emphasizes the supernatural and the transcendent domain, which opines humanity, to be, "radically dependent on divine order". The opposite position upholds scientifically, humanity as part of the natural order, on a par with other living organisms. Humanism chooses the middle position and perceives the unique talents and the potentialities of human beings to be cultivated, promoted and celebrated for their own sake (397).

As a philosophical concept, humanism respects the autonomy of a human individual, as a being of dignity and rationality, possessing the inherent source for the Truth and the Right.

Encyclopedia Americana discloses that Protagoras the Greek philosopher brought out the spirit of Renaissance humanism in his dictum. He says, "Man is the measure of all things..." (553). Humanism may or may not be associated with Religion, Science or any system of Politics. It relies on human reason, to do his best service to humanity with goodwill, during his finite stay in this world. Humanism functions with a secular, liberal and tolerant spirit. It adopts the method of attaining enlightenment through education and free enquiry. Such humanism and its heritage passed into the west, partially through Byzantium and partly through Arabs in Spain and mostly by the medieval Church. This culminated into, "a rich legacy of Greco-Roman antiquity" (553).

The Italian humanists led by Petrarch (1304-1374) urged for the revival of the genuine classical spirit, showing greater interest in the formation of the Individual character through the knowledge and skills imparted by the studies like

Grammar, Rhetoric, Poetry and Ethics. It also initiated the salvaging of the lost works of the popular classical authors. Thus it strove for the recovery of the past glory, through translations like the translation of the entire works of Plato into Latin by Marsilio Ficino.

The movement of educational awakening transformed into a major literary movement, influencing other major fields of learning. Italian humanism undoubtedly created a bulk of humanistic literature of its own, first in Latin and later in its vernacular. They evinced a true scholarly interest in the authenticity of the ancient texts. This started an initial step towards the modern Textual Criticism. Machiavelli gathered the quintessence of the Statecraft from the classical historians and recorded in his monumental works **The Prince** and **The Discourses**. According to him though Man is rational, he is prone to evil in tantalizing situations, where the end justifies the means.

The Italian humanists had a consensus in accepting Man's reasoning power, freedom of choice and man's inherent spirit of morality. They also showed equal concern to man's fallibility and his emaciation by life's uncertain situations.

There were two opposite views of Man held by two groups; one positive optimistic view of autonomous man held by Ficino and Fico Della Mirandola and the opposite pessimistic view held by Machiavelli. But both the groups did not undermine man's rational potentialities or his limitations as a rational creature.

There was a polarization of the two major groups, one characterized by its adherence to the values of traditional religion, attachment to the classics and their

moral values as in the works of Vittorino and Ficino. The opposite group was one of skepticism.

The Italian scholars operated as ambassadors of the Italian Humanism, wherever they worked in Europe. The profound interest in Hebrew and the Christian antiquity started the Christian Humanism led by Desiderius Erasmus (1469-1536). In the 18th century, Humanism was associated with Nationalism, Individualism, Secularism, Politics and Science and Technology in the 20th century. The Scientific Humanism treats Science as a reliable instrument, to free man from most of the problems and enhancing the amenities in his life to be happier.

Science and Technology are to be humanized and socialized in order to respond positively to the colossal rapid changes caused by scientific advancements. In 1930, Irving Babbitt advocated the Ethical humanism reaffirming Man's inherent "higher will" focusing the spiritual dimension beyond man.

Jacques Maritain professed his tenets by Religious humanism. It finds the ultimate reality within man himself and his Christ like total dedication to the absolute well being of man and of mankind. The pragmatists, existentialists and the Marxists also associate Humanism in their fields.

Thus, Humanism has come to stay in the field of knowledge, with multiple manifestations. In Literature, it has become a greater force, stressing the total well being of Man, who is the centre of all mundane and spiritual activities (**Encyclopedia Americana** 553).

The World Book Encyclopedia depicts the growth of Humanism and its impact on various fields. The innate zeal and the objectives of Humanism still

influence the fields of Arts, Education and Government. The pioneering humanists were religious. The ascetic teachings of the middle ages advocated the renouncing of the world and its pleasures. But the Humanists stressed the strong recognition of the realities of human nature and its intricacies.

The Humanistic literature tends to be more critical, realistic and humorous. The "Laura" of Petrarch's sonnets portrayed the image of a real, rather than that of a medieval religious symbol. The acumen of the Dutch humanist Erasmus, a priest, delved deeper into the comparable elements in Greek philosophy and Christian thought. His **Praise of Folly,** a masterpiece, proved to be a humorous and satiric, critical work on the kings and the cleric and in general, a recognition of common human follies.

In **Canterbury Tales** of Chaucer in England and in **Decameron** of Italy's Giovanni Boccacio, the humorous stories reveal the accurate understanding of human nature. In France, François Rabelais lampooned the Universities, Church and other institutions in **Gargantua** and **Pantagruel**. Rabelais unified wide learning and profound wisdom to disclose the rollicking earthiness of humanity. Thomas More the English humanist and martyr, in his **Utopia** satirized the contemporary society. Though all these humanists held lofty ideals for the entire humanity, they looked at humanity with honesty and candidness.

The Renaissance humanist reiterated the fostering, cultivating and training of the "ideal gentleman" or "universal man" who would be a genius in the multifarious fields of knowledge including Science, Art, Politics and Sports.

In 1800, the famous English humanist Matthew Arnold prescribed the objectives of the modern humanistic ideal of education. He urged humanity to know "the best that has been thought and said in the world" (Abrams 83). He defined an ideal human as one who possessed all powers in balance, a profound knowledge of living, in harmony with others and an aesthetic sense of appreciating beauty and lofty standards of ethical judgement.

Modern humanistic education centres on the humanities which include Religion, Philosophy, Language, Literature, History and the Arts. They have the common goal of interpreting the meaning of life.

In 1700s Humanism stoutly opposed the political tyranny of autocracy and bureaucracy in American and French revolutions. **The American Declaration of Independence** and **The French Declaration of the Rights of Man**, glorify the dignity of man. They are both political and humanistic documents of common human identity and dignity. The leading American revolutionary leaders like Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson were also the leading humanists of the age.

Leading philosophers and educators are convinced that the grave challenge to Humanism is posed by too much stress on science and technology. Though the stupendous scientific achievements have maximized the knowledge and power of humanity, according to **The World Book**, Humanism alone can guide and teach the moral, human way of using them properly (384-85).

The World University Encyclopedia discloses the various types of Humanism. Humanism is perceived to be a kind of approach towards life founded on primeval traditions of antiquity. It refers in general to the periods of civilization

whose Philosophy, Education, Art and Literature were established on the classical times of Greek and Roman Culture. They are the following types of Humanism namely Historical Humanism, Ethical Humanism, Philosophical Humanism, Sociological Humanism, Religious Humanism and Literary Humanism (8: 2240).

According to **The World University Encyclopedia** Renaissance was called in the cultural history "humanistic period" (8: 2240). It emphasized the classical training and the study of antique works of Art, relegating the ecclesiastical studies of the Middle Ages. This inclination is called Historical Humanism. The Latin word, "humanitas" signified, being humane. In Roman civilization, Humanism indicated the holistic development of human personality, with equal fostering of intellectual and moral values.

In Cicero's times (106-43 BC), the word "humaniora" brought out the meaning of the intrinsic values of Humanism. The Romans had a strong belief that only those who were well versed in the masterpieces of the great Greek philosophers and poets could achieve the ideal human development. Throughout the middle ages, Humanism retained the same connotation. Besides the study of the Bible and the works of the clergy, the great works of the Greek and Roman authors were studied in the religious monasteries, as the only source of knowledge and education. Towards the end of the Middle Ages, these humanistic studies were pursued intensely.

During the 16th century, Erasmus, Johannes Reuchlin and Philipp called themselves humanists and reiterated the study of the ancients as a humanistic course. This humanistic movement pervaded the monastic schools and the higher

schools and became a symbol of a philological pedantic attitude, during the 17th and 18th centuries. During the 19th and 20th centuries, the colossal significance and recognition accorded to the 'natural science studies of living languages' pushed back the humanistic studies.

In the US, according to **The World University Encyclopedia**, the 20th century champions of humanism were Chancellor Robert M. Hutchins, Professor Mortimer Adler, Stringfellow Barr, former President of St. John's College and Mark Van Doren of Columbia University. Thus, Humanism, in no way, merely indicates the profound interest in the works of antiquity, but it defines always the proclivity towards a cordial harmonious development of the human character (8: 2240-41).

In this movement the interests of humanity are predominant. The various pacifist movements, the society for ethical culture, the movements championing the causes of the minorities are called Ethical humanistic movements.

Charles S. Pierce and William James developed this term to be an equivalent to pragmatism. James concluded pragmatism as the principle that "the end of man is action", since all the philosophical attempts are deeply connected with man and mankind, the word "Humanism" can be related to the system of pragmatism.

The close human intimacy prevailing among family members and members of small communities, if applied to bigger impersonal groups, then this trend is termed as Sociological humanism. When the noble values such as love, pity, loyalty and mutual service are applied to members of humanity, then this is identified with the term 'humanitarianism'.

The World University Encyclopedia surveys the prevalence of various humanistic movements in the West. Religious Humanism culminated from Unitarianism. **The Humanist Manifesto** (1933) declared, "Religion consists of those actions, purposes and experiences which are humanly significant. Nothing human is alien to the religious..." (2241).

It refers to an American Movement, which is partially literary and partially philosophical. This movement was started by Irving Babbit and Paul Elmer More in the early 1900s. The pivotal idea is that man's place in the universe allows the free will to be piloted by intuition.

Man can accomplish his own progress which is neither retarded by scientific determinism nor retrograded by theological principles. The inhibitions nurtured by the antique theological systems and the most modern materialism are overcome by intuition. The intuition leads a man by liberating him from external constraints and subjecting him to inner law.

The proponents of this literary humanism, according to **The World University Encyclopedia**, basically found the antiquity, its philosophy and art as the fountains of real cultural values. They also raised their vehement opposition to the Materialistic Naturalism and Romanticism since both made men appear irresponsible (2241).

Tony Davies divulges the two opposite stands taken with regard to Humanism. On the one hand, humanism is venerated as the lonely philosophic paradigm confronting the umpteen armies of "ignorance, tyranny and superstition" (5). Tony Davies exposes the opposite stand on Humanism thus:

> ... an ideological smokescreen for the oppressive mystification of modern society and culture, the marginalization and oppression of the multitudes of human beings in whose name it pretends to speak, even, through an inexorable 'dialectic of enlightenment' for the nightmare of fascism and the atrocity of total war. (5)

The "radical humanism" of Karl Marx identifies communism as a "fully developed naturalism which equals humanism and as fully developed humanism equals naturalism" (Davies 12). Communism in Marxian vision helps "the complete restoration of man to himself as a social, i.e. human being..." (12).

Tony Davies traces the articulation of John Addington Symonds on Humanism. Symonds in his second volume entitled **The Renaissance in Italy** and subtitled **The Revival of Learning** writes:

> The essence of humanism consisted in a new and vital perception of the dignity of man as a rational being apart from theological determinations and in the further perception that classic literature alone displayed human nature in the plentitude of intellectual and modern freedom. It was partly a reaction against ecclesiastical despotism; partly an attempt to find the point of unity for all that had been thought and done by man, within the mind restored to consciousness of its own sovereign faculty. (22)

Matthew Arnold talks about the Central and truly human point of view of Chaucer who is a ''modern" according to him historically and ethically. The "humanity" of Chaucer is "general and special, common and rare" (21).

The Arnoldian appeal is globally human and its universal sweep denotes the humanism disclosing the "complex notion of human, a quality at once local and universal, historical and timeless" (22).

Auguste Comte propagated a "secular religion of humanity" to guide humanity in a universe devoid of "supernatural sanction of prescence". It is neither the "traditional religion" nor "the romantic pantheism" but it is, "a moral and social coexistence" based on a "sympathetic fellow feeling" which does not have any "basis to appeal beyond their own resources" (28).

George Eliot gave her consent to the Comtean "ethical religion designed to occupy the place vacated by a discredited Christianity". But she was non-committal to Comte's consolidation of his ideas into, "an atheistic religion (culte) founded on humanist principles, complete with doctrines and liturgy" (28). In 1877, George Eliot's partner G. H. Lewess and their friend Frederic Harrison termed the Comtean "cult" as the "Religion of Humanity" (28).

According to Tony Davies, "the sardonic critique of Fredrick Nietzsche reveals the "four cardinal errors" of humanity. They are "the virtue of modesty" meaning "a healthy willingness to resist the temptation to confuse our own dispositions and values with some universal and eternal human condition". The other three "cardinal errors" are, "self ignorance, the attribution of imaginary qualities to the world around us and a false order of rank with animal and nature" (33). Nietzsche remarks with pungence that, "if one deducts the effect of these four errors, one has deducted away humanity, humaneness and human dignity" (33).

"Lack of historical sense" which is the "family failing of all philosophers involuntarily think of 'man' as an *aeterna veritas* (eternal truth) as something that remains constant in the midst of all flux, as a sure measure of things..." (32).

Nietzsche concludes that the impress of certain religions and even certain political events as the fixed form, from which one has to start out, is misleading because "everything has become: there are no eternal facts, just as there are no absolute truths" (33).

Nietzsche discloses his views on the "history of modernity as the development of the individual". The "exceptional complete men" who faced "the death of God" always tide over their delusion and, "recreate themselves as the bearers of a radical freedom" (36). Such men of "heroic transcendence" with a "will to power" definitely "drive every individual to the fullest possible self-realization, is what Nietzsche calls Ubermensch or Superman" (36). The liberal humanist and political Economist John Stuart Mill asks:

> May it not be the fact that mankind, who after all made up of single human beings, obtain a greater sum of happiness when each pursues his own, under the rules and conditions required by the greater good of the rest? (39).

Tony Davies sums up the quintessence of the liberal humanism thus, "This is the characteristic timbre of English liberal humanism: small scale, individualist, suspicious of big theories and sweeping solutions" (41).

E. M. Forster in the opinion of Tony Davies "expresses the categorical priority of concrete individuals over abstract systems, of the private over the public, while regretfully acknowledging the inescapable claims of the latter…" (41).

Thomas Mann a German novelist and a humanist asserts that authentic humanism can have no commerce with politics of any kind. For Thomas Mann, "to think and to reflect in a human way means to think and to reflect in a non-political way" (44).

Louis Althusser claims that the "subject of history" is not the individual human "speaking and acting" with a purpose in the realm of the freedom of reason. The real "subject of history" is only the "impersonal structure in dominance" or in other words of Marx, "the forces and relations of production" which "operate outside man and independent of his will" which establishes the "pattern" and "horizon" of the action of the individual (60).

The socialist humanism of the Praxis group operative between 1964 and 1975 in the Yugoslav Republic held out as Davies put "a communism with a human face" opposing "Stalinist practice and theory" (64-66).

Tony Davies analyses Althusser's ideology which cancels the "autonomy" and "integrity" of the individual human beings as "free agents" and reduces them, "as point of contingency for the impersonal historical forces of class struggle and ideology" (69).

The most "radical", "anti-humanist turn is seen" in the work of Althusser's "compatriot" Michael Foucault. In his book **The Order of Things**, he says:

> One thing in any case is certain; man is neither the oldest nor the most constant problem that has been posed for human knowledge. Taking a relatively short chronological sample within a restricted geographical area - European culture since the sixteenth century - one can be certain that man is a recent invention within it ... As the archaeology of our thought easily shows; man is an invention of recent date and one perhaps nearing its end. (Davies 70)

Foucault considered humanism as a "limited and outmoded philosophy". Its "central conception of man", "exposed" so much than never before as "a grammatical convenience - is due for the Scrap yard" (Davies 70).

Foucault thus propounds the "Death of Man" (Davies 69) and his famous dictum, "Man is a simple fold in our language" who is destined to "disappear as soon as that knowledge has found a new form" (Abrams 118). Thus many, "structuralist and post-structuralist philosophical and critical theories are expressly anti-humanistic and subvert the values of the traditional humanism by eliminating "entirely, the focus on the human beings..." (Abrams 118).

The "identity theorists" like the traditional humanists reject the "extreme post-structural views of nature and valid role of the human subject". But they oppose the traditional humanists by emphasizing "the identity of the subject as a representative of one or another group rather than as a representative of universal humanity" (Abrams 118).

In the twentieth century the **New Humanism** an American Movement of 1910-33, led by Irving Babbit and Paul Elmer More, "argued strongly for

a return to a primarily humanistic education and for a very conservative view of moral, political and literary values that are grounded mainly on classical literature" (Abrams 118).

The Encyclopedia of Philosophy explores the philosophic doctrines, humanistic in spirit. Humanism has been used in a broader sense, to include the following doctrines. Thus, Communism is humanistic, since it would annul the individual's alienation from himself as this is the result of private property under Capitalistic Society. Pragmatism, comes under Humanism/since it follows the view of Protagoras, who declared man to be "the measure of all things" (72). The doctrine of Personalism also termed as Spiritualism is related to Humanism since it confirms man's efficacy to ponder over eternal truths and the Divine reality. The doctrine of Existentialism is included in the realm of humanistic philosophy, since it corroborates that, "there is no other universe than the human universe, the universe of human subjectivity" (72).

Thus humanism has different hues based on perspective, history and chronology. It is a term which may seem easy to be defined. But down the centuries it has gradually absorbed the different trends and ideologies, different historical and philosophical backgrounds that it is rather difficult to pertain it to any one particular meaning. It has worn different caps and clothes. The researcher has tried to record here the various ways and contexts in which Humanism has been used. The meaning changes depending on the context in which it is used. It has been used in Literature, Morality and Ethics, in Philosophy and in wide ranging fields. A sincere attempt has been made to capture all the nuances.

When the attempt is made to trace the growth of Humanism in the realm of Indian writing in English, it is quite perceivable that the earliest Indian prose in English was the outcome of the pressing humanistic obligation for the Indians, to appeal often, to the English rulers, on various problems of social importance.

The cavally brothers Venkata Lakshmaiah, Venkata Ramaswamy, Venkata Boriah (1765-1803), Raja Ram Mohan Roy (1772-1833), Swami Vivekananda (1863-1912), Shri. Aurobindo (1872-1950), Malabari Behramji (1853-1912), Surendranath Banerjee (1848-1925), Bala Gangadhara Tilak (1856-1920), Gopalakrishna Gohale (1866-1945) and Chitranjan Das (1870-1925) as a band of Indian prose writers in English used English for social conscientinzation and social reforms with a democratic humanistic fervour, to unmask the virulent social evils and to suggest apt remedial measures, to the English rulers (Iyengar, **Indian Contribution** 6).

A noble line of Indian humanists writing in English started with Raja Ram Mohan Roy, demanding the prohibition of *sati.* Swami Vivekananda preached universal humanism in the Chicago Parliament of Religions on Hindu philosophy in 1893. Shri Aurobindo launched, a proclamation of Indian Renaissance, encapsulating the humanistic ideals of individual's dignity, his social, political and spiritual freedom. Jawaharlal Nehru, the secular humanist discovered the Indianness blossoming into religious tolerance, universal fraternity, peace, love and an unquenchable thirst for the critical exploration of the Indian tradition and its heritage. Dr. Radhakrishnan deeply delved into the vital vicissitudes of Indian Philosophy, based on the eternal spiritual values of Indian heritage. Rajaji, the

Gandhian humanist expounded the essence of the Indian culture and heritage and opened a dialogue with the ancient sages of India, to enthrone once again, the eternal humanistic values of India on the pinnacle and bolstering the moral and spiritual strength of the people of India and the world by enlivening the Gandhian humanistic values.

Indian writing in English has secured a tangible identity and respectability in the realm of literature. K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar, in his book **Indian Writing in English**, conveys that India speaks through many voices or several literatures namely Assamese, Bengali, Oriya, Punjabi, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu and Urudu. But in his conviction, he proceeds to assert that "Indian writing in English is but one of the voices in which India speaks. It is a new voice, no doubt, but it is as much Indian as others" (3).

It is indeed a difficult task to be fundamentally Indian in thinking and feeling and yet striving to be creative through the niceties and the discipline of the global language like English is "a novel experiment in creative mutation" (Iyengar, **Indian Writing** 5).

The radiant literary luminaries in the realm of Indian writing in English inculcated the perennial human values, enshrined in the ancient Indian classics, Vedas, Upanishads and the humanistic literary tradition. One could trace a definitive origin and growth of the Indian humanism in the Indian writing in English. Thus there is an array of eminent Indian humanistic writers in English like Rammohan Roy, Keshub Chunder Sen, Vivekananda, Tagore, Sri Aurobindo, Tilak, Gandhi, Nehru, Radhakrishnan and Rajaji.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy, the great social reformer (1772-1833) started the Indian Renaissance and the reconstruction of the Indian society through his **Brahmo Samaj**. As a "great humanitarian and social reformer" Raja Ram Mohan Roy aimed at as K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar puts it, "the total regeneration of India, comprising economic progress, political education, cultural renaissance and spiritual awakening" (**Indian Writing** 33). As a humanist, Raja Ram Mohan Roy clamoured for the liberty of women from suppression in the name of religion, abolition of the inhuman practice of *Sati*, propagation of religious tolerance and the upliftment of the Indian peasantry.

M. K. Naik says, "... he was a man cast in the mould of the Humanists of the European Renaissance" (**History** 14).

Dadabhai Naoroji (1825-1917), "The Grand Old Man of India" in his **Poverty of India** (1873) pleaded for a democratic humanistic vision in giving "fair representation" to Indians "in the government of their own country" (Naik, **History** 72).

Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1856-1920) called "the father of the India unrest" with a fervent humanistic zeal expressed in his **Writings and Speeches** (1922) drew the lower middle class into the freedom struggle (Naik, **History** 75).

Gopala Krishna Gokhale (1866-1915) the "political guru" of Gandhi in his **Speeches and Writings** revealed his moderate spiritual humanism founded on a "spirit of negotiation" with "high standards of probity" (Naik 75-76).

V. S. Srinivasa Sastri (1869-1946) "the silver tongued orator of the empire" hailed the liberal humanism of the British Empire in his **Speeches and Writings** (Naik, **History** 90-91).

Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941), was a Nobel Laureate, a world renowned poet, novelist, a short story writer, a critic of life and literature, dramatist, actor, producer, musician, painter, a humanist, an internationalist and an educationist. Tagore proved to be a Rishi, or the Gurudev, a versatile genius, who was equally at home with Bengali and English (Iyengar, **Indian Writing** 99).

Gitanjali captivates Tagore's humanism which is a "unique blend of romantic longing, devotion to God and simple love of created things" (Williams, **Galaxy** 26).

As a humanist and internationalist, Tagore according to M. K. Naik preaches, "the gospel of universal harmony between man and man, man and nature and man and the divine" (**History** 81).

As a man of God, having a profound faith in the immanence of the Almighty, Tagore, the spiritual humanist advocates, universal peace and love to humanity.

Shri Aurobindo a globally acknowledged poet and a prose writer was another outstanding spiritual humanist, who was the propounder of Integral Yoga, "the prophet of the Life Divine" and "the fiery evangelist of Nationalism" (Iyengar, **Indian Writing** 144).

Shri Aurobindo's spiritual humanism seeks man's fulfillment, "in the manifestation of the divine in himself and the realisation of God within and without" (Naik, **History** 86).

Swami Vivekananda's (1863-1902) spiritual humanism clamoured for a 'man-making religion'. He says, "It is a man-making religion that we want. It is a man-making education that we want" (Iyengar, **Indian Writing** 536). With his "historic words", "sisters and brothers of America" in the parliament of religions at Chicago in 1893, Vivekananda propounded the essential unity of all religions and universal fraternity and fired the souls of the listening throng (Naik 82).

Dr. Radhakrishnan (1888-1975) brought out the quintessence of Indian philosophical thought, as a continuation of the spiritual humanism nurtured in the Hindu Vedantic view of life. Through his lectures to the West, compiled under the titles **The Hindu View of Life** (1927) and **An Idealist View of Life** (1932), he propagated the spiritual humanism thus:

> Science enlarges our concept of God and religion saves science from going astray. Religion should not end in wars and inquisitions, nor science in Hiroshimas and Nagasakis. He said that a man without religion is like a horse without a bridle.... (Iyengar, **Indian Writing** 581)

The chief accomplishment of Radhakrishnan, "...is the recognition he won in the western world for Indian philosophy as a major system of thought" (Williams, **Galaxy** 137).

According to the humanistic tenet of Gandhi (1869-1948), "soul-force" is the best force to achieve and establish a kingdom of love and peace. He "stressed the importance of chastity, voluntary poverty, truthfulness and fearlessness" (Iyengar, **Indian Writing** 253-54).

Gandhian humanism is founded on self-rule, self-mastery and self-realization. It invites the self purification through the negation of material possessions, adoption of simple and frugal life conditioned and regulated by the strict daily routine observance of celibacy, dietic controls, voluntary option for manual work, fasting, observing silence, prayer with a firm faith in God and in His guidance and fostering the commitment to Truth and *Dharma* without fear. All his writings projected all these dimensions of his humanism, which may be aptly termed as Gandhian humanism. K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar says, "The Gandhian way is the stern humanistic way, because its aim is to arrive at the health and strength of the aggregate by fostering the health and strength of the individual units" (262). He continues to say thus:

> It is same ambrosial way, because it seeks to build the edifice of humanity's future, not on the quicksand of perpetual technological advance and global industrial strife, but on the durable foundations of love, truth, chastity, honest labour, equitable sharing, simple living and the uncompetitive ordering of national and international affairs. (262)

Gandhi's, "...world-view developed under the influence of the **New Testament, The Gita**, Ruskin's **Unto This Last**, Throeau's essay on **Civil Disobedience**, Edward Carpenter and Tolstoy (Naik 119), M. K. Naik reiterates Gandhi's faith in the right of every country to evolve a system best suited to its genius and in India's case it was what he called **Ramraj**, i.e. Sovereignty of the people based on pure moral authority" (122).

Jawaharlal Nehru (1889-1964) the first Prime Minister of India and a universally applauded writer of three monumental books entitled, **Glimpses of World History**, **The Discovery of India** and **Autobiography**. He was a prophet of modernity, "a votary of science and admirer of the Jet Age", a tireless speaker whose speeches founded on Secular humanism, startled Modern India to stand up and start its strides of success in Science and Technology (Iyengar, **Indian Writing** 312).

The Glimpses of World History provides substantial acknowledgement of "Nehru's secularism, his scientific temper and his socialist sympathies" (Naik 127).

Manavendra Nath Roy (1886-1954) propounded a radical humanism in his work entitled **New Humanism: A Manifesto** published in 1947. He discloses how it is innate in man's nature to be rational and moral in sensibility and so endowed with the potency of creating a social order of freedom, harmony and justice. Thus Manavendra Nath Roy made a "bold attempt to blend Marxism with humanist ethics" (Naik 132).

B. R. Ambedkar (1891-1956) championed the cause of the marginalized scheduled classes in India. He was a stern critic of the Gandhian approach to the problems of the untouchables. He asked, "What Congress and Gandhi have done to the untouchables?" (Naik 132).

Among these humanists in Indian Writing in English, Chakravarti Rajagopalachari (1878-1972) widely known and admired, as Rajaji, is a fervent patriot, an impeccable statesman, a pragmatic social reformer, a thinker with a sharp incisive intellect, a sagacious administrator, a remarkable scholar and a prolific

humanist writer defending human dignity and human values, Gandhian principles, Democracy, the moral and the spiritual values of Ancient India. "Above all, he was a moral giant and an indefatigable crusader for freedom, democracy, human rights and the majesty of the moral law in personal and public life" (**Democracy and Leadership**, Flap page).

As Rajaji proved to be an impeccable social reformer and an ardent humanist in his public life, his literary works also stand a testimony to his ardent zeal for social reformation and a global vision of humanism. So it becomes imperative to launch a systematic analysis of Rajaji's humanistic vision and its various dimensions as enshrined in the works of Rajaji in English.

Nearly for sixty years, Rajaji had been an untiring writer and speaker as one of the frontal national leaders of the Congress party. In the early twenties he served as the editor of **Young India**, while Gandhi was in prison. In the sixties he had been actively associated with **Swarajya** which was the democratic voice of the Swatantra party to register his strong protests against the regimentalism of the Congress party. As a humanist writer, Rajaji's alacrity of mind, his profound patriotism and deep concern for the future of the human race confronting the Nuclear Race of the Big powers had been never dulled by age. His mind attained a global vision of human welfare worthy of an elderly statesman.

Srinivasa Iyengar remarks that the longevity of a spiritually and morally meaningful life transformed Rajaji the statesman into "... the moralist, the humanist and the man of God - the sage who bears bold witness to the categorical imperatives and ineffable realities in the world of the spirit" (**Indian Writing** 556).

As a "Crusader and the arch evangelist of peace," Rajaji the humanist writer could command his humanistic vision and transform it into "the shining - winged word" (Iyengar, **Indian Writing** 556).

Rajaji as a writer draws his inspiration from the ancient hoary Indian and world classics. His roots are deep in the imperishable moral, spiritual and humanistic values enshrined in these classics.

K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar in his famous book **Indian Writing in English** explores the moralistic and spiritual acumen of Rajaji and declares:

> As thinker, speaker and writer, Rajaji has been a great power for good because he has his roots in our immemorial tradition and he has tuned up his life to the music of the classics of India and the world - the Upanishads, the Gita, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, the Kural of Tiruvalluvar, the Bible, Marcus Aurelius, Plato, Shakespeare and the teachings of Ramakrishna Paramahamsa - and he has popularised as a labour of love some of these imperishable spiritual testaments in the intellectual idiom of the present day. (557)

The versatility of Rajaji's humanistic vision is fused with the versatility of the contemporary literary genres namely the Essays, Translation of classics, Short stories, the rendition of the Epics in English and the speeches delivered at various historic occasions. Comparing with Nehru and Gandhi, K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar says. "... Rajaji's was the more versatile pen, for his canon is encyclopaedic in subject matter and includes most of the contemporary literary genres" (**Facets of Rajaji** 97).

This study analyses the humanistic vision and its various dimensions in the works of C. Rajagopalachari. The Humanistic approach to literary study had been established on strong foundations down the ages. The critical study of Humanism has been evolved cogently having a definite origin and progressive growth in the literary fields of different countries as discussed earlier.

Rajaji's literary output in English can be classified under the following genres namely his prose writings in the form of Essays, Short Stories, Epics in Translation, Translation of Tamil Classics like **Tirukkural, Ayodhya Canto of the Ramayana as told by Kamban** and Avvaiyar's poems and political writings. The essays in the four volumes of **Satya Meva Jayate** primarily reveal the humanistic vision of Rajaji the correctionist. The infinite variety of themes inherent in the essays strongly acknowledges the multiple public causes for which Rajaji moved his pen. His essays are remarkable for their brevity and clarity. They reveal an acute mind and a wider heart at work, analysing the complex human problems and suggesting the solutions to promote the common human welfare. His style is that of a parable writer and is suffused with sarcasm, irony, satire and humour. His use of similies, anitheses, imagery, allusions, metaphors and his capacity to coin new phrases render aesthetic elegance, to his essays. Rajaji claims that these "weekly outpourings of sincere feeling during the period 1956 to 1961..." are "devoted to the movement of freedom to which the Sanskrit name 'Swatantra' has been given, which is a revolt against the policy of increasing regimentation..." (Rajaji, **Satyam** I: xi).

As a humanist in unminced terms, Rajaji proclaims that his essays are earnest in protesting against the nefarious forces confronting the society to subvert its peace, unity and welfare. He says, "They are protests against errors strongly felt protests against great errors. When one feels deeply one repeats and uses pungent words. I have written truthfully that is to say, as I have felt" (Rajaji, **Satyam** I: xi).

These humanistic protests were conscientiously registered against the sprawling corruptive forces that are out to liquidate the Moral Force. As one of the strongest custodians of Indian tradition and its noble values, Rajaji, the humanistic reformer through these essays, raises his whip of sharp intellect tinged with satiric wit and humour over the agents of corruptive forces. Through these essays, Rajaji champions the cause of the uninvolved, namely the Indian mass with remarkable power of expression, conspicuous mastery over the English language, revealing the unbreakable strength of an open mind and a wider warm heart, ever longing for the perennial peace, among the mortals under the Sun. In these essays, epitomizing his protest, the humanistic vision of Rajaji is unleashed with a premonition of the impending havoc to humanity by being heedless to the calls of Love, Righteousness or *Dharma*.

Rajaji asserts, "... utter faith in Truth lies behind this protest. Hence the title, **Satyam Eva Jayate** for the collection" (Rajaji, **Satyam** I: x). These essays are the earnest artistic attempts on several, multifarious topics of humanism with great and everlasting interest. They can be broadly classified to fall under the following topics. They are Religion and Philosophy, Nuclear Disarmament, Democracy and Communism, Socialism, Congress Party, Communal Problems, Gandhian

Philosophy, Swatantra, Official Language, India's Foreign Relations, Economic and Fiscal Matters and Planning. There are also miscellaneous essays on various topics of humanistic vision like "Value of Frank Criticism", "Hitler is not dead", "Good Literature", "The Slum World", "B.C.G. Day", "Apartheid", "Use of Contraceptives", "Dhoties and Sarees", "Means Can Kill Ends", "Why I believe in Classics", "A Satanic Laboratory", "Roman and Other Scripts", "Bertrand Russell", "Vaazhia Sendamizh", "Pope John XXIII", "Western Pornography" and "Pepper and Salt".

M. K. Naik sums up the major issues dealt by Rajaji in the official organ of the Swatantra party entitled the **Swarajya** thus:

> The preservation of individual liberty and the encouragement of free enterprise, the reduction of state control to a desirable minimum faith in the efficiency of *dharma* in regulating individual conduct in society and revulsion at the rapid corrosion of moral values in post-Independence India were some of the ideas he stressed in his articles in the **Swarajya**, the organ of the Swatantra Party. (**History** 126)

In an interview with Ved Mehta, Rajaji told, "I have written books, articles, stories, fables. But on the whole, I am not a man of letters... I have written mostly for specific causes I was working for" (**Facets** 96).

These specific causes of humanism were many, remarkably they were promoting Khadi, the abolition of untouchability, prohibition, *Harijan*'s right to enter into the Temple, Condemning B.C.G. vaccinations, flaying the Permit Licence-Raj, Nuclear Disarmament, upholding *Dharma*, Truth and Integrity in

public life and spiritualizing and moralising, Politics and adopting Gandhian values. Thus Rajaji's essays are primarily humanistic in vision and reformist in zeal. They serve their best as J. Donald Adams finds literature serving its best, "When it not only delights us, by its form, its precision and beauty of expression and the interest of its content but leaves us wiser as well" (Responsibility 19). No doubt, his essays leave us "wiser" to safeguard and nurture the common human values, for the posterity, to enshrine humanism, in precept and practice.

Rajaji, as a freedom fighter and an able administrator, was a successful public speaker. His speeches have been compiled and published under the title, **Rajaji's Speeches**, in two volumes. These speeches, delivered mostly during the first ten years of India's Independence, glisten with the radiance of deep erudition, peculiar poise of ideas, impressive lucidity, illuminating instances, practical wisdom and the ebullient explication of the precious Indian heritage and its perennial humanistic values.

Rajaji's speeches are apparently simple but the force, behind the simplicity is incalculable, being invigorated by the masterly command of language and the humanistic vision to reiterate the moral and spiritual significance in any context. Rev. Fr. Jerome D' Souza says, "...there is the clarity of expression, the mastery of words, the possession of a style, simple, direct, forceful and of enormous range in spite of its deceptive simplicity" (**Speeches and Writings** 150). Earl Mountbatten affirms, "His command of the English language was complete. Very few Englishmen spoke English as he did" (**Facets** 13).

The short autobiography entitled the **Jail Diary** captures the day-to-day experience of the author, in the Vellore Jail as a freedom fighter, imprisoned for participating in the non-cooperation agitation in 1920, for three months, from 21st December 1921 to 20th March 1922. Though a short record, it discloses, Rajaji's easily unperceivable personality. It records Rajaji's humanism in action.

Rajaji as a short story writer was more prolific in Tamil. Most of the short stories enlisted in Bhavan's publication entitled **Stories for the Innocent** were written by Rajaji in Tamil between 1925 and 1964. In 1945, some of them were translated into English and published by the **Hindustan Times** under the caption **The Fatal Cart and Other Stories**. Most of them were translated into English by Rajaji's son, C. R. Ramaswami and P. Sankaranarayan. Three stories entitled, "The Tree Speaks", "Hats and Sarees" and "A Pair of Sandals" were written by Rajaji himself in English.

These stories carry immortal, moral messages bolstering the humanistic vision of Rajaji's writings. Rajaji says that his stories are imbued with the humanistic fervour to uphold and champion the social causes held dear by him. He justifies the humanistic values present in them thus. Rajaji acknowledges:

> Most of these stories were written not by an author aspiring to be an author but for furthering the public causes in which he was involved. Some highbrows maintain that stories should be stories and not propaganda. These pieces, most of them had a purpose but I claim that purpose is inevitable and good. I wrote them for the causes I held dear, but I held fast to the skirts of Mother Truth even when writing

> stories. I have heard it said that one can't write good fiction unless one sticks to truth, on the whole I believe these stories will do no harm and may do some good. (**Stories** ix)

Rajaji translated the immortal Tamil literary creations of Tiruvalluvar, Avvaiar and Kambar. Rajaji chose to translate into English, these eternally valuable poetic masterpieces of Tamil in order to pass on to the non-Tamil readers, the comprehensive artistic, cultural and humanistic values of the Tamil Literature. Rajaji clarifies his objective in translating the first two books of **Tirukkural** namely *"Aarathu Pal"* or the book of Righteousness and *"Porut Pal"* or the Book of Administration. The humanistic pragmatism of Tiruvalluvar strongly impresses Rajaji. He comments:

> Tiruvalluvar's approach to moral doctrine is marked by a very thorough knowledge of human psychology and a desire to help imperfect men with practical hints in the struggle against evil. Throughout we can see how the poet brings everything down to the level of practicality without losing hold of the ideal. (**Kural** iii)

Rajaji translated nearly fifty five songs of Avvaiar, a noble and valiant champion of the poor and the downtrodden. She was the friend, philosopher and guide of Kings and commoners alike. Rajaji aptly brings out Avvai's significant contribution to noble thought, constructive action and positive attitude to life, piety, love for the poor, altruistic service to wipe out any sort of human suffering, democracy, ideal administration of service, everlasting friendship, high honour, stable constancy, statecraft and pleasant humour. Rajaji chose the **Ayodhya Canto**

from **Kamba Ramayanam** of the great Tamil epic poet Kambar, for its humanistic vision and vivid poetic imagination. Rajaji undertook the onerous duty of rendering in English, the two great classics of India namely the **Ramayana** and the **Mahabharata** with a noble humanistic purpose of opening a re-communion between us and the sages of our land "so that the future may be built on rock and not on sand" (Rajaji, **Ramayana** 7). Rajaji translated the synthesis of the classic wisdom and prudence of Socrates and Marcus Aurelius into Tamil to enlighten the people with their pragmatic humanistic philosophy.

The sages are required to speak to the modern India in order to redeem it, from moral and spiritual degeneration and restore to it, its past glory. These two epics are the epitome of India's eternal message of love and peace to mankind.

Thus the choice of the subject and its aesthetic exposition encapsulate the noble concern of humanism to champion the dignity, freedom and welfare of the humanity.

Nearly for sixty years Rajaji had been an untiring writer and speaker, as one of the forefront national leaders of the Congress party. In the early twenties he served as the editor of **Young India**, while Gandhiji was in prison. In the sixties he had been actively associated with **Swarajya**, which was the voice of the Swatantra party, to register his strong protests against the Congress Party and its regimentalism.

As a true humanist, Rajaji's alacrity of mind, his profound patriotism and deep concern for the future of the human race, jeopardized by the frantic nuclear

arms race of the Big powers, had been never dulled by age. His mind attained a global vision of human welfare worthy of an elderly statesman.

According to K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar, basically Rajaji is "a fighter and campaigner all his life". As a humanist writer Rajaji proved to be the "Crusader and the arch evangelist of peace".

K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar reiterates, the spiritual source of Rajaji the writer and says that "the power that he can still summon at need can only be called a form of spiritual power and we see it taking shape as the shining winged word" (**Indian Writing** 556).

The humanism in the works of Rajaji has the following dimensions namely Gandhian humanism, Democratic humanism, Moralistic humanism and Spiritual humanism. Being a dynamic humanist in thinking and action following the heels of his master the Mahatma, Rajaji's seminal and critical sensibility transgressed the boundaries of caste, creed, religion and language to locate and seek the panacea for myriad problems of humanity. K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar says, "No problem is too big or too complicated, no circumstance concerning the future of Homo Sapiens is too local or too trivial to engage Rajaji's attention" (**Indian Writing** 555).

English becomes a powerful medium of Rajaji's profound expression of the noble and eternal values of humanism. The causes championed by Rajaji were just and humane ranging from the local to the global dimensions. They uphold the dignity of the individual and the nobility of human life. They are, promoting Khadi, the abolition of Untouchability, Prohibition, *Harijan*'s right to enter the temples, flaying the permit-licence-raj and supporting Nuclear disarmament. This research

attempts to prove that humanism is the main current which runs in the works of C. Rajagopalachari. The onus of this thesis is to establish this statement with apt literary evidences and illustrations from the works of Rajaji. The humanism in the works of Rajaji is consciously and conscientiously pervasive with its following dimensions namely the Gandhian humanism, Democratic humanism, Moralistic humanism and Spiritual humanism. Each chapter is in pursuance of divulging and establishing the existence of the respective dimension of humanism in the works of Rajaji. This thesis endeavours to study the depth of the humanistic vision and its various manifestations artistically rendered in the works of Rajaji in English.

There is no full fledged critical study of the humanistic vision of Rajaji with its blend of the facets of Humanism called the Gandhian Humanism, the Democratic Humanism, the Moralistic Humanism and the Spiritual Humanism. Hence the researcher has chosen this field of critically analyzing the Humanistic Vision in the works of C. Rajagopalachari. The hypothesis of the researcher is that Rajaji's Humanistic vision is a blend of the following humanistic facets namely Gandhian Humanism, Democratic Humanism, Moralistic Humanism and Spiritual Humanism. The researcher proceeds with the proposal of embarking on a study of the various facets of humanism in the works of C. Rajagopalachari.

The study of humanism in literature has become significant and imperative at this threshold of the millennium, when humanity experiences the dearth of eternal human values and the erosion of ethical and spiritual principles in the private and public lives. The humanity is at the cross roads of values and counter values, tantalizing with uncertainty and doubts at the face of luring materialism and

consumerism. The "Cyber World" with its computer networks and Mass Media is heading for an absolute "Information Age". But the pertinent query is, whether all this information will happily end in the transformation of the heads, the hearts and the souls of humanity or will tragically zero into a morbid nuclear radiation and the total decimation of the Human Race at the end of an impending Third World War? The answer is included in the remarks of Dr. Samuel Johnson the eighteenth century humanist in his **Life of Milton**. Dr. Samuel Johnson says:

> The Truth is that the knowledge of external nature and the sciences which that knowledge requires or includes are not the great or the frequent business of the human mind. We are perpetually moralists, but we are geometricians only by chance... Socrates was rather of opinion that what we had to learn was how to do good and avoid evil. (Abrams 117)

Rajaji's works, replete with their facets of humanism, certainly teach the vacillating humanity "to learn how to do good and avoid evil". The **New Encyclopaedia Britannica** says, "Humanistic scholarship has made the human form the centre and measure of all things. When man ceases to be the principal concern of mankind, barbarian threatens" (1179).

Rajaji's humanistic vision thus civilizes the mankind which may otherwise slip into barbarism. Rajaji's encyclopedic mind traverses far and deep into the vicissitudes of human contexts in this universe and gently admonishes humanity, of the dire consequences of the erosion of the eternal human values in the spheres of Religion, Politics and Science.

The humanism in the works of Rajaji guides the troubled mankind, towards Truth and eternal Bliss. The present study of the various facets of the humanism in the works of Rajaji, in its process, indicates the close relevance of Rajaji's works to modern society and their offer of the humanistic solutions to the complex human problems in the advent of this millennium.

C. Rajagopalachari has emerged as one of the significant, conspicuous statesman-writers of the twentieth century Indian Writing in English. Rajaji discloses through his works, the sensitive humanistic concerns and their depletion in the realms of the modern society, thus making the study of humanism in his works imperative and beneficial. His works under various genres like Essays, Translations, Short Stories, Speeches and Renderings, reveal and admonish the posterity. As a votary of Truth and Non-violence, Rajaji's works advocate the cardinal Gandhian humanistic principles such as dignity of labour, sanctity of the soul, non-violence, civil disobedience based on righteousness or *dharma*, teetotalism, removal of untouchability, Hindu-Muslim unity, Democracy, world government and spiritualization of private and public life to attain ultimate union with God, with man's innate goodness. K. T. Narasimhachar passes his critical remarks on Rajaji's commitment to his master's principles thus:

> He made it a mission of his life to continue to spread the message of his master, Mahatma Gandhi, to his own countrymen and to the world for he was the one man among all the lieutenants of the Mahatma who followed the Gandhian way of life in thought, word and action. (1)

The second facet of the Humanism in the works of Rajaji is the Democratic Humanism. It champions the dignity and worth of an individual against the oppressive regimentation of the bureaucracy in free India. The fundamental tenets of Democracy were confirmed and propagated by Abraham Lincoln that the good government is always a government, "of the people, by the people and for the people".

Rajaji's works champion the fundamental rights which establish the edifice of Democratic Humanism. Speaking about Rajaji's political wisdom as revealed through his works K. T. Narasimhachar opines, "His wisdom was as much appreciated in New York as in New Delhi, in Leningrad as in London, although people there in authority failed to follow him in actual practice" (3). The slow erosion of the fundamental rights enshrined and guaranteed in the constitution provoked Rajaji the humanist to fight for the human rights and human dignity. As a democratic humanist, Rajaji revolted against the brute majority of the ruling party, crushing the sanctity of the fundamental rights and opposed the notion of the ruling party's regimental attitude towards the opposition party. Rajaji opposed statism and through his works championed the freedom of the Individual citizen, as the foundation of the Democratic Humanism. Rajaji the democratic humanist challenged the "permit-licence-raj" and its corruptive tendencies. Rajaji's determination to save Democracy in India and abroad even impelled him to convey a coalition with the major democratic powers in the world. As a democratic humanist of universal outlook Rajaji expresses his confidence of realizing Gandhi's dream of a world government and world peace through the reduction of nuclear

arms and the increasing of peace talks. Rajaji says, "The hope for world survival lies in the total abandonment of nuclear and bacteriological weapons and in the progress onwards world law and world government" (Narasimhachar 82).

The humanism in the works of Rajaji has another facet called the Moralistic Humanism which divulges the following specific causes which are moralistic and humanistic like promoting Khadi, abolishing untouchability, supporting total prohibition, fighting for *harijan*'s entry into temples, condemning B.C.G. vaccinations, immoral birth control methods, flaying the permit licence-raj, safeguarding the Fundamental Rights ensured by the Constitution and upholding Truth, *Dharma* and the eternal, moral and humanistic values. K. T. Narasimhachar reiterates Rajaji's outlook of Moralistic Humanism in his book **C. Rajagopalachari: His Life and Mind**:

> Rajaji was the lonely watchman of this ancient land of India, old and wise, which is passing through a crisis of the spirit. His lantern shone with a rare effulgence, aglow with the radiant spirit of ages, directing its rays into the dark corners of the corrupt souls of his countrymen day in and day out. Rajaji's voice rang it, strong and clear, pointing out the errors and follies of those in power. (6)

Rajaji's humanism in his works includes the last facet of Spiritual Humanism. As a unique visionary of the Modern Age, Rajaji in his works recalls the rich heritage of the ancient Rishis and Sages of India.

K. T. Narasimhachar quotes Lord Mount Batten's assessment of Rajaji's strength of Spiritual Humanism thus. Rajaji was, "a refreshing spirit who achieved strength through humility and wisdom through faith" (4).

Like his master Mahatma Gandhi, Rajaji in his works espoused the nobility of faith in God and *Dharma* which is the Divine Law. He voiced for the spiritualization of the private and public life altogether, with unshakeable faith in God and truth. Rajaji asserting his Spiritual Humanism says, "Deny God, deny the soul and you will be like vehicles without lights on the road in a dark night" (**Satyam**, 2: 713). The humanism in the works of Rajagopalachari is an artistic blend of the above mentioned humanistic facets. They are like the different sides of a diamond. This chapter leads to the scrutiny of Gandhian Humanism which is the bedrock for Rajaji to build his edifice of Humanism.

CHAPTER - II

GANDHIAN HUMANISM IN RAJAJI

Chapter II

GANDHIAN HUMANISM IN RAJAJI

Chapter-I has presented a comprehensive, chronological study of the origin and the development of Humanism in the West and in India, in its philosophic complexity and typological multiplicity. It has disclosed C. Rajagopalachari the fervent humanistic writer whose humanism is strongly founded on the Gandhian humanistic principles. So Gandhian humanism is the bedrock on which Rajaji builds his other humanistic paradigms namely the Democratic humanism, the Moralistic humanism and the Spiritual humanism in his works. Rajaji's humanism is basically a theistic humanism opposed to the atheistic humanism.

This chapter poignantly studies the cardinal principles of Gandhian humanism pervading the works of C. Rajagopalachari or Rajaji as widely known. Gandhiji was Rajaji's Master in its every sense and as his loyal disciple; Rajaji inculcated and propagated the Gandhian humanistic principles through his seminal works in English.

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, called Mahatma Gandhi (1869-1948) led the Indian National freedom movement and secured India's freedom through a non-violent revolution, setting an indelible mark of success through his humanistic principles in the annals of the human history.

Gandhi, being educated in Law at University College, London, was admitted to the British Bar in 1891. An Indian firm appointed Gandhi as its legal adviser in

its office at Durban in South Africa. Soon, Gandhi was shocked and pained by the inhuman treatment, meted out to the Indian immigrants, by the white regime. Gandhi's humanistic craving for a dignified, equal treatment to all the citizens drew him into agitations, claiming equal civil liberties and political rights. After twenty years of suffering and humiliation and imprisonment many times in South Africa, Gandhi formulated the principle of passive resistance. It is manifested through non-cooperation and civil disobedience which formulated Gandhi's characteristic humanism termed by the researcher as Gandhian Humanism.

Gandhi had acknowledged his debt, to the works of Leo Tolstoy, the teachings of Christ and to the 19th century American Writer Henry David Thoreau, especially to his famous essay "Civil Disobedience" (Funk and Wagnall, **New Encyclopedia** 185).

Gandhi's humanism was founded on another bedrock namely *Satyagraha* which means in Sanskrit "truth and firmness" (**New Encyclopedia** 185).

Gandhi launched a nationwide movement of passive resistance and non-cooperation movement, against the British, to secure total freedom for the nation, from the foreign rule. Gandhian humanistic approach, gave the right direction, to most of the intricate problems encountered by the mighty struggle for freedom. This approach, purely based on non-violence, bolstered the Mahatma's spiritual and political hold on India. The British dared not to touch the Mahatma, for his "soul force" was righteous and impregnable.

Gandhi became the global symbol of the free India. He strictly followed the spiritual and ascetic life of fasting, prayer and meditation. Later his relation to his

wife became, as he stated that of a brother and a sister. Detached from mundane possessions, Gandhi clad the loincloth and shawl of the poorest Indian. He preferred vegetables, fruit juices and goat's milk and negated meat altogether, on spiritual plane. He was respected as a saint and so called Mahatma, a title given only to a great ascetic (**New Encyclopedia** 186).

Gandhian humanism and its influence profoundly affected every walk of the national life during this Gandhian era. In his scholarly book **Indian Writing in English**, K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar says, "Politics, economics, education, religion, social life, language and literature acquired a more or less pronounced Gandhian hue" (249). Gandhi's influence on the Indian languages and literatures was direct, through his writings in English and in Gujarat and indirect through his various non-violent movements, revolutionary principles and practice. K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar states:

> The several regional languages acquired a new versatility and power and many of the political leaders of the Gandhian Age, for example C. Rajagopalachari (Rajaji), N. C. Kelkar, Abdul Kalam Azad, Rajendra Prasad, Pattabi Sita Ramayya, Jawaharlal Nehru and Vinoba Bhave were themselves thinkers, writers, agitators and social reformers rolled in one. No apology is needed therefore considering Gandhi as a formative influence on the writers of his life time. (249)

Rajaji absorbed the principles of Gandhian Humanism, being the southern commander of the Mahatma in India's non-violent struggle against the British Colonial Imperialism.

Rajaji minutely recorded the reminiscences and the moorings about Gandhi's selfless humanistic service to India and the world, in his article entitled "On Gandhi". Godese could kill only the mortal body of Gandhi, but could not stop, Gandhi's "Tide of true wisdom" (**Dear Reader** 342). Gandhian humanism is theistic and strongly entrenched on the bedrock of faith in God. Rajaji asserts, "Without this godliness no nation can thrive whatever may be the money invested or the laws passed or administrative polices followed" (**Dear Reader** 343).

Rajaji points out that Gandhi fought for the basic human needs, the elemental things in life and above all for Truth and Justice. He conferred on the villages a new dignity and totally believed only in non-violence. The government could take over the Birla House to establish a fitting memorial to Mahatma Gandhi. But Gandhiji had built up his own memorial during his life tenure that is the absolute self-government of India, which should not have been left uncared to go into disarray (**Dear Reader** 344).

Rajaji reiterated, Gandhiji's relevance, in the politics of today to bring back God and Religion into all our activities. Rajaji opines, "I hope I shall not be mistaken, if I add that God is even more essential than what goes by the name of socialism and I hold that Gandhiji is most relevant for today's politics in this aspect" (**Dear Reader** 345).

The basic principle of Gandhian humanism is non-violence and its manifestation is *Satyagraha*. It is against any kind of authoritarian attitude, usurping the basic dignity and freedom of an individual and a society at large. Gandhiji defines, *Satyagraha* in **Young India**, dated 23rd March 1921.

He clarifies, "*Satyagraha* is literally holding on to truth and it means, therefore, Truth-force. Truth is soul or spirit. It is therefore, known as soul-force" (**Voice of Truth** 181).

Rajaji finds the non-violent method or *Satyagraha* as a civilized humanistic way of registering one's protest, against oppression. Rajaji, in his prefatory note to Gandhi's **Hind Swaraj**, a compilation of twenty short dialogues between "Reader" and "Editor" who is Gandhi himself, stresses the eradication of violence in all its forms. K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar in his book, **Indian Writing in English** quotes Rajaji's words:

> There can be no reconstruction or hope for this land of ours, unless we eradicate the worship of force in all its forms and establish work on a basis other than violence. A refutation of the doctrine of violence is, in the present situation of the affairs of our country, more necessary than ever. (252)

In *Satyagraha*, "soul force" is used based on the sacrifice of one's passive acceptance of the penalty or punishment imposed by the oppressor, for the violation of a law. Gandhian humanism insisted on the discipline of a passive resister to adhere to chastity, voluntary poverty, truthfulness and fearlessness.

The "soul force" advocated by Gandhian humanism is the impelling spiritual force behind *Satyagraha.* Rajaji says:

> The secret presence of God in the hearts of all beings is the secret of *Satyagraha*. It was not the application of a new technique but the

understanding of ancient spiritual teaching and firm faith in its truth *Satyagraha* is not for the sceptic. (Iyengar 256)

It is not a diplomatic political instrument, but rather a moralistic process with a strong faith in God. *Satyagraha* inspires a mutual love and affection among opponents to usher in the formation of a non-violent society, as Gandhian humanism envisages. His inclination towards the spiritual acumen of Gandhi was the basis for Rajaji, becoming his loyal disciple.

True to this inclination towards the spiritual foundation of Gandhiji's movement, Rajaji's writings become vibrant with the vital Gandhian principles which formulate the Gandhian humanism. The Gandhian humanism upholds non-violence and *Satyagraha*, simplicity in life. Social Justice, *Harijan*'s equality and abolition of Untouchability, *Sarvodaya* or self-realization and global realization, *Khadi* Movement, small scale and cottage industries, spiritualization of politics, strong Democracy, Hindu-Muslim Unity, Hind Swaraj, Nuclear Disarmament and World Government.

Keeping in line with the spirit and wisdom of the Gandhian humanism, Rajaji defines *Swaraj*, "It is *Swaraj* when we learnt to rule ourselves" (Satyam III: 313). The rule and control over oneself is the perfect Swaraj or self-rule. If controls and regulations are silently and quietly accepted with their inherent coercion, then it is negating "swaraj" (**Satyam**, III: 313).

Rajaji was prophetic in his vision of future India and its impending tragic plight after becoming, a free nation. Out of a deep humanistic concern, Rajaji pointing out the lacunae in public life says, "Elections and their corruptions,

injustice and the power and tyranny of wealth and inefficiency of administration, will make a hell of life as soon as freedom is given to us" (**Jail Diary** 43). With such a premonition of a grave plight of the nation, Rajaji the humanist, with the Gandhian vision of universal peace and love ponders over men looking back with deep regret, the previous regime of a more or less honest administration. According to Rajaji the only gain by freedom will be that as a nation, India will be freed from dishonour and servility.

Morally upright conduct, fear of the Almighty and true love should be cultivated, in each citizen, even from childhood. Gandhian humanism advocates universal happiness, peace and love through *swaraj*, if only every citizen proves worthy of such a self-rule.

Elucidating the synopsis of Gandhian humanism, Rajaji wonders, "What a beautiful world it would be, if everybody were just and God-fearing and realized the happiness of loving other" (**Jail Diary** 44). Thus, if everyone is God-fearing, just and loving one another, in conformity with Gandhian principles, the whole world will be a paradise to live in.

Gandhi won the political liberty for India, so that self-government could be set up, with the inherent hope that, it would embrace his humanistic ideals of the individual and national life. Gandhiji's humanism envisaged a welfare state, where the freedom and the dignity of the individual were not at peril because of the state's regimentalism. The individual by self realization will transform himself voluntarily into a trustee of all that he holds, in order to support the people around him.

Thus Gandhian humanism admits scarce intervention of the state with an absolute realization of the moral values. The administration of the state through *Dharma* or Righteousness makes the individual more and more self-reliant, so that, he is not hungry for more grants and subsidies. Reiterating Gandhi's vision of multiplying rural industries and making the individual more self-dependent, Rajaji asks the pertinent question, "Are we really helping and increasing village industries or are we increasing the bondage of man to the big machine?" (**Satyam** I: 297). The self-reliance of the individuals bolsters the self-government and its humanistic ideals.

Gandhian humanism thwarts one to be an accomplice, to any evil system. During the freedom struggle men and women voluntarily chose to go behind the bars in order to withdraw their passive cooperation, to an evil government, which imposed on them humiliating servitude and national dishonour. Hundreds of people honestly felt that, the injustice and national dishonour caused by the British were not tolerable and chose the life behind the bars as a honourable and happier one. They had the conviction that the alienation and hardship, caused by the jail life would be, a blessing and a phase of true martyrdom, because the immoral and sinful collusion with the evil system would be ignoble according to the laws of God. Rajaji asserts:

> Even if there be no immediate advantage resulting from it, each individual has the supreme consolation that he at least has released himself from the sin and pain of voluntary assistance in keeping this nation in servitude. (**Jail Diary** 1-4)

Thus refusing to cooperate with the enslaving foreign regime is an eternal duty, like practising honesty and charity regardless of their occasion or results. Rajaji says that this refusal, to be under the foreign rule is "maintaining the natural law by instinct" (**Jail Diary** 34). While opposing the inhuman autocratic system Gandhian humanism advocates trusteeship as the reliable Gandhian system of sustaining the human values of compassion and charity shown to the downtrodden and the poor.

The non-violent method of Thoreau's "civil disobedience" was the foundation of Gandhian humanistic struggle against the oppressive foreign regime. Trusteeship or the practice of compassion is the Gandhian answer to the modern challenges in the welfare state. It is enunciated in the **Upanishad** and the **Gita** that trusteeship alone can liberate the individual from the tentacles of the totalitarian rule. The minimum government rewards, the citizen's fulfilment of the law of compassion and the realization of the divine oneness of all life in the Universe encomprise the answer to Marxism, according to Rajaji.

Gandhian humanism does not reduce the individual to a lifeless screw in a vast machine, named the state. Corroborating this basic principle, Rajaji says, "The individual is the only reality. The state is a non-living entity. The Leviathan has no soul. If the individual is wiped out we reduce the nation to a soulless existence" (**Satyam** 1: 300-01).

Socialists too advocate rejecting Marxism and adopting Socialism as the answer to the challenges of the modern times. But they are against Gandhian humanism which strongly recommends the individual's freedom through voluntary,

non-violent democratic process. Through violence whether it is murder or suicide, the individual meets only death. The compassion of the rich can only increase their bliss in sharing their excessive wealth with the poor. Thus the doctrine of trusteeship propagated by the Gandhian humanism is the only pragmatic way to enthuse the rich people to voluntarily hold their excessive wealth as trustees for the poor. Since this is performed without coercion, trusteeship becomes the genuine alternative to Marxism. Trusteeship's foundation is based on religion which is directly opposite to the Marxian foundation. Gandhian humanism reiterates that the wealthy class should hold their superfluous riches and their inherent talents to increase their income in trust, so that they use them for the welfare of a larger humanity (**Satyam** 1: 302-04).

The revival of *Dharma* and the re-establishment of nobler values, especially love and compassion, innate in human nature, are implied by Gandhian trusteeship. Trusteeship involves, voluntary coordination on the part of the wealthy, having sensed their utmost duty towards the hapless in the society. Thus goodwill creates oneness in the society as adumbrated by the Gandhian humanism. It believes in the spreading of the goodwill from one to another; thus whole humanity is pervaded by love and compassion. Rajaji explains the trusteeship thus:

> What was Gandhiji's 'ism'? His 'ism' can be briefly described as the 'ism' of trusteeship: everyone when holds a position and everyone who owns property, should hold them as trustees for all those who have dealings with them and for the community at large. (**Satyam** I: 340)

Gandhiji defines Trusteeship in *Harijan*, dated 25th October 1952. He states, "Trusteeship provides a means of transforming the present capitalist order of society into an egalitarian one" (**The Voice of Truth** 373). Rajaji draws his support from Tiruvalluvar's **Tirukkural** and suggests that there should be a voluntary flow of wealth from the rich to the poor, on the basis of the rich undertaking the trusteeship. Rajaji clarifies, "But as and when people make wealth directly for themselves and indirectly for the nation, a certain amount of simultaneous, voluntary flow of that wealth from the rich to the poor must be encouraged" (**Satyam** 1: 352).

Rajaji compares Tiruvalluvar's **Tirukkural** or couplet on the doctrine of *Oppuravu* or social cooperation, which is similar to the Gandhian doctrine of trusteeship. The twenty second chapter in **Tirukkural** insists on the voluntary altruistic service of the wealthy to the poor through charity, love and compassion. Rajaji thus, sums up the essence of the **Tirukkural** on trusteeship, "Man is born as a social being. He alone lives who functions as a social cooperator. He who does not recognize this duty is to be counted as one dead" (Rajaji, **Satyam**, I: 353).

Rajaji espouses the validity and reliability of trusteeship as the integral part of Gandhian Humanism. He brings out Gandhi's unshakeable faith in trusteeship by quoting Gandhi's own words:

> The violence of private ownership is less injurious than the violence of the State. My theory of trusteeship is no makeshift, certainly no camouflage. I am confident that it will survive all other theories. It has the sanction of philosophy and religion behind it. No other theory is compatible with non-violence. (**Satyam** I: 434)

Thus trusteeship becomes the bedrock of Gandhian humanism to voluntarily share the excess wealth with the poor, with love and compassion on a non-violent basis. If there is a choice between revolution and compassion, to effect desired positive changes in the social order then compassion is a more suitable means according to Gandhian humanism since it is with less tension, waste and suffering. Compassion creates a positive bliss in sharing and voluntarily negating coercion in any form.

According to Rajaji, the triple criteria namely, religion, apt instruction and the best living example can groom this natural human instinct called compassion. It will lessen the necessity for coercive external rules and regulations. Even hundreds of welfare laws and dozens of executive organisations, cannot be so beneficial, as the natural humanistic instinct called compassion. In a totalitarian social order, the state is omnipotent and the individual becomes a non-entity. If compassion replaces law then there is a complete autonomy of human will. All the administrative practices of political governance tantalize between these two extremes of coercion and compassion (**Satyam** III: 160).

Though laws spring from the fountain called the instinct of compassion, often the products become oppressive and kill the "parent" instinct. In Rajaji's view, a unilateral gesture of friendliness is a first rate Gandhian move (**Satyam** III: 207).

Rajaji continues to promote, support and recommend this unilateral gesture of friendliness to the Heads of America and Russia as the only Gandhian Humanistic means, to attain global peace and to eschew violence in any form.

Rajaji, admonishes that Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Krushchev should necessarily practise this. Compulsion and brute force will do nothing. Mahatma Gandhi teaches only this. He is ranked with the great teachers like Manu, Buddha, Socrates and Jesus. Without the Mahatma our times would not have had any link with those noble souls or with the Rishis of our mother land (**Satyam** VII: 312). Understanding Rajaji's Vision of World Peace, Mr. Krushchev got Rajaji's book, **Mankind Protests**, translated into Russian language and published it in Russia for wider circulation (Kesavan 47).

Repudiating, the teaching of the Mahatma's humanism, is the reason for all our woes today. Rajaji strongly feels that had we lived as Gandhi wished us to live, we should all now have been happy and honest and India would be a holy place of pilgrimage for the people of the world (**Satyam** III: 312-13).

Gandhiji affirms his undaunted faith in the "Khadi Movement" to inculcate a sense of unity and equality in the Indian people divided by caste, religion, language and social status. Gandhiji regarded the "Khadi Movement" supported by hand-spinning process as the dawn of, "economic freedom and equality of all in the country." Gandhi says, "Khadi to me is the symbol of unity of Indian humanity, of its economic freedom and equality and, therefore, ultimately, in the poetic expression of Jawaharlal Nehru, 'the livery of India's freedom'" (**Voice of Truth** 385).

Gandhian humanism is not against the use of machine. The old spinning wheel of Gandhi is not an opponent of modern times, its machines and advancement. But Gandhi became inimical to the machine, when the

machine subdued the human to prostrate at its feet making him so servile and totally dependent on it. Gandhiji called, "Charka the centre of the village uplift" (**Voice of Truth** 400).

Rajaji with the same humanistic concern cautions and clarifies the stand of Gandhian humanism regarding the role of machine:

> He was the enemy of the machine when the machine became the master and man became its slave. As long as the machine served man, Gandhiji loved the machine as he loved anything that served man. So Gandhiji did not desire to discard the loud speaker. Indeed, he used the loudspeaker quite often. (**Speeches** 46)

Thus Gandhian Humanism subdues the hyper importance accorded to machine and safeguards the dignity and freedom of man.

Gandhian humanism is always against nurturing prejudice and misunderstanding. The doctrine of Gandhi reiterates the spreading of love to one another through working hard for the country and understanding each one's importance and capacity to accomplish a definite task for the betterment of the people, with a sense of detachment. Rajaji clarifies Gandhi's doctrine of work:

> He wanted people to work. Work is the only thing by which man can justify his existence. He must work and produce and it is only then he has a right to live. He has to work honestly and without caring for personal advantages. He has to work in a detached way. That was Bapu's doctrine, the doctrine of the Gita and all the other scriptures of the world. (**Speeches** 47)

Then he explains Gandhi's humanistic doctrine of mutual love and understanding especially in a pluralistic country of diversity like India where people follow different faiths and speak varied languages and follow multiple customs. How does God work? Rajaji raises this question and answers, "We do not know the mystery of life or how God works. But I know this that, if you love a man, he returns the love without knowing or without any effort" (**Speeches** 47). Gandhian humanism preaches this doctrine of mutual love, to make this world a blissful abode to live in. The mutual love between the Hindus and Muslims alone can make India stronger and happier.

Gandhiji, in **Harijan**, dated 20th April 1947, declared his staunch humanistic conviction of Hindu-Muslim unity as he wrote, "Even if I am killed, I will not give up repeating the names of Rama and Rahim, which mean to me the same God. With these names on my lips, I will die cheerfully" (**Voice of Truth** 122).

Gandhian humanism strongly advocates Hindu-Muslim unity as the only solution to religious amity in India. There is a doubt whether Hindus can love Muslims. But, Gandhi preached that we can and must love one another. Rajaji instils confidence and clarifies that when we try, God helps us abundantly. The Nation's prosperity and greatness lie in the path shown by Gandhi. The prestige of the Nation will soar to new heights if people speak truth in their daily lives. If we arc corrupt and dishonest everything will go down (**Speeches** II: 3).

Gandhiji became a martyr laying his life for the Hindu-Muslim unity to make India stronger and invulnerable. In his address in the foundation-stone laying ceremony of the new building, for the Muslim orphanage, at Thyagaraya Nagar,

Madras, Rajaji stressed this ideal to be realised by the Hindus in practical life, by being more compassionate and endearing towards the weaker Muslim community. Rajaji encourages the Hindus to follow this Gandhian humanistic principle thus:

> Since we should always extend more affection to those who feel depressed and afflicted and to those who are afraid, I wish to ask you all, my Hindu friends, to treat Muslim children as your own children and, if possible, with special favour so as to remove their fears and their doubts. (**Speeches** 55)

Rajaji rejoices at the unison among various ways of worship which could foster the religious amity. While in Vellore Jail as a freedom fighter, Rajaji jots down:

> How beautifully does my neighbour Mohamed Gohouse's '*la illa*' mix with my own silent prayer, yet, how the two communities hated, warred with and killed each other and how much misunderstanding still continues. (**Jail Diary** 68)

Thus Rajaji reiterates the Gandhian humanistic principle of the essential unity between the Hindus and the Muslims in India.

Gandhiji propounded clearly that "the essence of all regions is one, only their approaches are different" (**Voice of Truth** 265). In his address at Dargah Sharif, Rajaji stressed this Gandhian humanistic principle of respecting every faith, as a way to reach God and loving all the people of different faiths as, our own brothers and sisters. Rajaji reiterates this principle of religious tolerance and unity as the

highest wisdom one can learn. He convinces, "I give you my own personal assurance that to me every mosque, every church, every temple is equally sacred" (**Speeches** 213).

Gandhiji was, for one strong India, as an amalgamation of all the communities without ''Communal and territorial isolationism." He visualized a cohesive India of indivisible fraternity. Gandhian humanism stressed this vision of the absolute dissolution of communal segregation and geographical isolation. In his swearing in address, as the Indian Governor General of India, Rajaji reiterates such a bondage and harmony among all the communities. He declares, "No territorial or racial or religious community can hope to thrive or maintain its happiness through force without the willing and full cooperation of other people and the utmost intercommunication" (**Speeches** 31).

Gandhian humanism directs each one to respect and honour the other person's way of worshiping God. Bapuji left this 'mantra' or a spiritual verse to be sung by all Indians. Rajaji clarifies this principle of Gandhian humanism and states, "If anyone dishonours a man who worships God in a particular way, he dishonours and insults his own God. That is why Bapu asked the people to sing '*Ishwar Allah There Nam*'" (**Speeches** 218).

Gandhiji insisted on amity among all faiths, since each religion has its own contribution to human growth. In **Harijan**, dated 28th January 1939, Gandhiji writes, "Each religion has its own contribution to human evolution. I regard the great faiths of the world as so many branches of a tree, each distinct from the others though having the same source" (**Voice of Truth** 265). Thus, Gandhiji left us a

profound message to love each other and to help each other like brothers even though we belong to various religions. Gandhian humanism insists on this unity in diversity, as a virtue of every Indian. Rajaji reiterates this eternal truth and says, "Beauty without love is like a poisonous flower, beautiful to look at, but dangerous to life" (**Speeches** 4).

Gandhian humanism is goodness in action and does not exist in the form of a precept alone. Rajaji brings out this dynamic virtue of Gandhian humanism so vividly with a pungent sarcasm and says, "If we are true to his teachings, Mahatmaji cannot die. He lives in our behaviour. If we are false to his teachings, we will be the murderers, not the man who put a bullet into him" (**Speeches** 12).

According to Rajaji, giving Gandhi's name to an institution will not immortalize the Mahatma or his teachings. It will be possible to memorialize him only, as Rajaji says, when the entire structure of life in India will have to be a memorial for Mahatma Gandhi. The entire government, the whole of society and its ways of living - these have to be a memorial (**Speeches** 36).

Gandhiji professed his conviction in universal fraternity as his ultimate goal. In **Young India**, dated 4th April 1929, Gandhiji proclaims:

> My mission is not merely brotherhood of Indian humanity. My mission is not merely freedom of India, though today it undoubtedly engrosses practically the whole of my life and the whole of my time. But through realization of freedom of India, I hope to realize and carry on the mission of brotherhood of man. (**Voice of Truth** 246-47)

Rajaji, laying the foundation stone of a refuge town at Jaipur congratulated the government of Jaipur for establishing a habitation for the people, thrown into despair and distress, during the division of India and Pakistan. Families were displaced and ruined. Rajaji suggested with Gandhian humanistic concern that a pleasanter name could be given rather than a refuge town, since any name not related to their distress would make them happier. Gandhi visualized a global human family, each one bonded in true love and affection. Rajaji affirms the same humanistic principle and states:

> The human family is one. We are all likely to commit mistakes. Let us forgive one another and let us remember the great truth that love will correct everything, that sympathy will rebuild everything that is destroyed. (**Speeches** 212)

Rajaji composed a beautiful hymn in English which was sung in 1966, at the United Nations by M. S. Subbalakshmi. With the title, "Here Under This Uniting Roof" it provides the quintessence of Rajaji's vision of a global human family (http://www.ceeby.com/people/Rajaji,cfm).

Diplomats try their best in administering treaties to find the way to peace but fail miserably. The military leaders may threaten others with the support of scientists and technicians in armament and coerce them to attain peace. But Universal Peace, according to Rajaji cannot be reached through "Competitive Intimidation" (Rajaji, **Satyam** VI: 254).

Gandhian Humanism suggests the doctrine of unilateral effort in global peacemaking. As a true disciple, Rajaji led his life with the prime objective of

propagating the eternal message of his Master, Mahatma Gandhi. He took upon himself the onus of perpetuating and spreading his master's message, "to mankind, in the press, on the platform, on all subjects affecting the welfare of humanity..." (Narasimhachar 2).

As a humanist, Rajaji was tormented by the chaotic plight in which the world was entangled by the Cold War between the big powers. This mad rivalry for supremacy has pushed the welfare of the common man into jeopardy. According to Rajaji, unilateral effort in love is the basic doctrine which will pave the road to International peace. The World Government may emerge only when all the suspicions and fears among the nations die and the unilateral effort in love succeeds. Gandhian humanism suggests this unilateral effort as the only possible way to Global Peace.

Rajaji expresses the validity and nobility of this voluntary unilateral effort of friendliness thus:

> Unless we secretly nurse Hitler's hope of total liquidation of nations at (cold) war with us the only way to scale the high walls of distrust is unilateral effort in the noble art of friendliness, which was Gandhi's technique, which was Christ's technique, which was Buddha's technique." (**Satyam** I: 256)

Besides adopting a unilateral approach to attain global peace there should be a move to attain *sarvodaya* or the welfare of all.

Gandhiji wanted every Indian to free himself absolutely from the yoke of laziness and callousness about manual work. In his **An Autobiography**, Gandhiji

acknowledges his indebtedness to Ruskin's **Unto This Last**. He conveys that the practical information about *sarvodaya* or the welfare of all was derived from **Unto This Last** (**Voice of Truth** 229). Gandhi States:

> The teachings of **Unto This Last**, I understood to be: 1) That the good of the individual is contained in the good of all. 2) That a lawyer's work has the same value as the barber's in as much as all have the same right of earning their livelihood from their work. 3) That a life of labour, i.e., the life of the tiller of the soil and the handicraftsman, is the life worth living. (**Voice of Truth** 230)

Gandhiji says that he knew the first principle already and about the second he knew only a little and the third, "never occurred" to him. He acknowledges, "**Unto This Last** made it as clear as day light for me that the second and the third were contained in the first. 1 arose with the dawn, ready to reduce these principles to practice" (**Voice of Truth** 230). Thus Gandhian Humanism embodies the cardinal principle that the good of the individual is contained in the good of all or in the *Sarvodaya.*

Rajaji's political sagacity objected to Nehru's reliance on Socialism, which admits a minimal degree of compulsion to implement the Government's policy. If there is any element of coercion involved, according to Rajaji, it is the total withdrawal of the Gandhian humanistic values. If a great Indian mass of humanity has to adopt a new way of life, the administrator should have faith in the people. Gandhi preached against the two evils namely coercion and compulsion. Socialism in Rajaji's opinion, has allowed these two evils to command. But only a change of

heart in the people can result, in the desired change, in the people's way of life. Rajaji in advocating his strong belief in the Gandhian Humanism says, "The compulsion of Government has to be exercised on criminals and morally disturbing elements, but it is not a way to bring about a change in the people's way of life" (**Satyam** I: 278).

Gandhian humanism advocates the provision of succour to the poor, with true love and affection. It is the humanness which gains the priority over mere mechanical actions of relief, by the social service organisations. As a family is regulated by the authority of a father, happiness is produced by the influential force called mother's affection. All the social organisations under the care of the service oriented men and women, especially women take the position of a mother to serve the poor with genuine affection. Rajaji in his address to a guild of service meeting at the museum theatre in Madras says:

> The poor people in the country, the oppressed people and those who are a disadvantage people require not only laws and regulations and monetary help, but a mother's affection in the first place to soothe and secondly to relieve distress. (**Speeches** 43)

Gandhian humanism directs one not to think of others' faults but to analyse one's own follies and foibles and correcting them with humility and strict self denial and discipline. Rajaji corroborates this paradigm:

> No cake can be good, if the flour is not good. Our people are the *atta* and the government the *laddhu*. If people are lazy, government will be poor. When we were not free, we had many people to look

> after us. Now that we are a free nation each one must look after himself. (**Speeches**, II: 4)

The sincere and honest people do not need supervision in free India. Rajaji says, just like the bees are working on their own volition and without any supervision to make the hive becoming full of honey, the workmen in India should work on their own without any compulsion or fear of punishment with pride and honour (**Speeches**. II: 4).

Rajaji's humanistic concern for the pathetic state of the regular convicts is expressed in his **Jail Diary**. The poor coolie who is convicted comes into the jail again and again and derives satisfaction by admitting the best of the jail life as his only hope in life. Such convicts obey and lead a very good life of discipline within the four walls. But if they arc so much hardworking with so much of purity and discipline in their own lives, how happy and wealthy their lives could be (**Jail Diary** 71-72).

Rajaji was pained at the sad plight of the regular convicts who happened to be poor coolies. The poor coolie who was convicted came into the jail often by admitting the jail life as his only hope and comfort in his life. The life inside the jail was a boon to them and they so sincerely did every task demanded under compulsion. Rajaji evinces his humanistic concern for their dignified life of happiness. He laments, "If only they led such hard lives of purity and discipline in their own homes, how happy and prosperous they and their families could be!" (**Jail Diary** 72).

Thus staking a claim to teetotalism, Rajaji disproves all the arguments supporting the consumption of liquor by labourers that necessarily they have to take liquor in the evening, to get rid of their physical pain. But the prisoners doing the heaviest tasks in the jail, under strict adherence to the Government rules, never could take liquor, as it was prohibited. But they could fulfil their duty, without their health in danger or their efficiency in jeopardy. With utmost humanistic concern culminating from the Gandhian teetotalism and vegetarianism, Rajaji affirms his faith in Gandhian principles:

> I remember, I once heard a missionary talking of the need for the poor scavenger to get over the smell and offence of his profession by taking a drink. All this is bosh. I see here scavengers, doing their work beautifully and in perfect condition of body and nerves, without any liquor to console them. The whole case of those who plead for moderate drink as opposed to prohibition can be exploded by showing them the condition obtaining in government jails. Jail discipline is a triumphant proof on behalf of prohibition as well as of vegetarianism. (**Jail Diary** 52)

Gandhiji in **Harijan**, dated 1st December 1933 exposes the inhuman sin committed against some people in the name of "Casteism". He states with anguish:

> It is wrong, it is sinful, to consider some people lower than ourselves. On God's Earth, nobody is low and nobody is high. We are all His creatures; and just as in the eyes of parents all their children are

> absolutely equal, so also in God's eyes all His creatures must be equal. (**Voice of Truth** 248)

Gandhiji coined the name *Harijan* and Ramanuja invented the name "Thirukkulathaar" only with the noble objective of making the people become oblivious of untouchability. But the result was opposite. Rajaji remarks, "The new names suffer a devaluation to take them closed to the reality, instead of benefiting the people concerned" (**Dear Reader** 347). Rajaji wants to be pragmatic in his approach to eliminate the scourge of untouchability.

The tragic plight of the *Harijans* was so inhuman nullifying their basic human dignity, in those days of the launching of the Gandhian movement for the abolition of untouchability. Gandhi fought for their human rights of equality and dignity as fellow human beings. Gandhian humanism stoutly opposes the casteism for its denigration of the fundamental human values. Rajaji voiced his profound concern, for the upliftment and the equal treatment of the "untouchables" who are the lovable sons and daughters of Mother India. The short stories relating to the causes of the "untouchables" discern and espouse the noble values of Gandhian humanism. Though there was a definite progress in mitigating the despair of *harijans* and securing equal social status and dignity to them, Rajaji admonishes the readers, to carefully understand the intricacies in the blatant exposure of the misery and the subjugation of the "untouchables" in his short stories. Rajaji clarifies:

> Readers going through the many pieces in this collection relating to "untouchables" should remember that these were written at the commencement of the movement for removal of untouchability and

> uplift of *Harijans* vigorously started thirty years ago. The position is greatly altered now: only older people may understand what is told in this book about untouchability in those days. Others may take it all as exaggeration for making up a story. (**Stories** ix)

In his short story entitled, "Ardhanari", Rajaji brings out the travails of the character Ardhanari, who was a *harijan* boy from the village of Kokkalai in Salem district. Ardhanari had to wear a mask of a high born belonging to Saiva Mudaliar caste when there was question about his caste, during the proposal of marriage by Govinda Rao to marry his sister Pankaja.

Govinda Rao, the immediate senior to Ardhanari in the office and Pankaja his sister liked Ardhanari's disposition and decent manners. Govinda Rao wondered, when Ardhanari raised the question of caste, Govinda Rao said, "Oh! The question of caste! Non-sense!" Govinda Rao exclaimed and continued, "What is a Brahmin? What is a non-Brahmin? We stopped thinking about such things long ago. If you like each other and finally decide to marry we need not worry about caste" (**Stories** 3).

Ardhanari felt ashamed for having transgressed *Dharma* and Truth, by telling an utter lie about his low birth and suppressed the truth that he was a *harijan*. His father Mariappan, brother Ranga and mother Kuppayee, all were living in the *cheri* or slum in Kokkalai village. Ardhanari became acquainted with Sri Malkani, the secretary of the society for the service of the untouchable, when Malkani came to Salem. Malkani got him a job at Delhi in his office with a wage of sixty rupees. Being a boy of honesty, diligence and pleasing personality, Ardhanari could get

Rs.150 per month at the age of twenty four. Ardhanari found his placement in Bangalore with a salary of Rs.200 a month. Govinda Rao was his immediate senior in the same firm. He had a sister named Pankaja. Govinda Rao wanted his sister to marry Ardhanari. But Ardhanari was much worried about his antecedents that he belonged to a very poor family of a low caste from Kokkalai.

When Pankaja evinced her desire to see Ardhanari's mother, Ardhanari told a blatant lie, that there was a severe epidemic of cholera in his village. But after three days, Ardhanari got a letter from his brother, Ranga, an unmarried teacher, stating that there was severe cholera in his village and there were many deaths. What had been told as a lie, became a truth. Ardhanari was requested by his brother to send thirty rupees so that his parents could stay at Salem till the fear of cholera was over. But Ardhanari nurtured disgust for his parents and brother. Then he decided not to send any money, so that his father would die of cholera. Ardhanari hoped that his father's death would end all his misery. So even after a second letter from his brother Ranga, Ardhanari did not send the money. His mother too was affected by cholera. He firmly believed that the disgrace of his low birth would be wiped off by the death of his parents. Ardhanari laments:

> This disgraceful feature of my life will now disappear for ever. This release looks like god's kindness to me. There is no *Dharma* or justice higher than His will. Why would I try to circumvent it? If father and mother die, there will then be nothing left to prevent my marriage with Pankaja. (**Short Stories** 7)

Under the pretext of going to see his parents and brother, Ardhanari left for Salem. But he tarried deliberately in his journey and went to Kokkalai after four days. By then his mother and brother were dead. But his drunkard father was alive. He begged Ardhanari to take him to Bangalore. Even though Ardhanari returned to Bangalore leaving his father in lurch, the humanness in him and his blood bond with his father tormented him. He rebuked himself, "Alas what have I done! I have killed my mother and brother. Why did I do this? Is there another villain like me in this world? How can I forsake my father like this? What shall I tell Pankaja?" (**Stories** 8).

His father drowned himself in a well in Kokkalai. Ardhanari was down with a brain fever, but soon recovered. But his mental torture began and Ardhanari requested Pankaja to forget him. He declares, "I am really an untouchable, a liar. I renounce marriage. For God's sake, forget me" (**Stories** 8). Though Pankaja did not mind his caste, Ardhanari declined to marry her and became a *Samiyar* or an ascetic and conducted the school in the Mariamman temple in Kokkalai, as a penance for his sins against his parents and God.

In this story, Sri Malkani Govinda Rao and Pankaja manifest the Gandhian humanistic ideals of true love, honesty, truth, *dharma*, fraternity and castelessness. But Ardhanari symbolizes a tragic figure of a fake self esteem and a false prestige earned by motley of a high caste, which propels him to touch the nadir of dishonesty and lovelessness, even wantonly allowing his mother and brother and later his father to die. Rajaji brings out the trauma of an "untouchable" in the cruel hand of casteism and its imposition of social obstinacies and the inhuman treatment

attached to it. Mahatma gave a clarion call for the total abolition of the untouchability from the Indian soil, only to save the dignity and honour of the victims like Ardhanari.

This story thus upholds the cardinal principles of Gandhian humanism, such as the abolition of untouchability, firm adherence to truth and *dharma*, reverence to the individual as the equal creation of God and renunciation of the sensual life to become an ascetic. There is a dilemma in Ardhanari, whether to disclose his low birth from a slum or to maintain his mask of belonging to a high caste in order to marry Pankaja belonging to a high caste. At first his desire to marry Pankaja was so strong that, he suppressed the truth that he was an "untouchable". At one point, he was not able to tell the truth for the fear of becoming a liar. So conveniently he maintains his lie to deceive others. But at last his own lie petrifies him. It makes him totally insensitive to his brother's requests for money, to save their father and mother from the onslaught of cholera.

He wrongly thought that his parents were responsible for his degradation as an untouchable, so he wanted to sever all his ties with his family to salvage his social status. But as Gandhian humanism advocates, Truth and *Dharma* always win over the falsehood. At last, Ardhanari turns an ascetic to lead a life of renunciation and altruism through his service to humanity.

The story entitled, "The Jasmine Flowers" brings out the genuine human love, affection and natural human tenderness among the children undivided, by caste affiliations. The boys of Velampatti village were playing fun with the monkeys, in the tamarind grove. The young monkeys were terrified and one of them

fell down. Mukundan took it and ran away. The mother monkey attacked him and injured him grievously. Mari a boy from the *cheri* took pity on Mukundan and plucked the young one from him and ran away to distract, the mother-monkey. Mari dropped the little monkey at a distance and thereby saved Mukundan from the wrath of the mother-monkey. Chinnan, another boy from the *cheri* and Mari carried Mukundan to his home. Mukundan's mother Sitammal was an orthodox widow. She thought that the two boys were responsible for Mukundan's wounds. When Mari explained everything, Sitammal was happy. But when she came to know that they are from the slum she was provoked and shouted, "You have entered my house! Oh God! What shall I do? You have come near the kitchen! O wicked wretches!" (**Stories** 49). Thus the widow cursed and threw a log forcibly at Chinnan. It hit Mari and injured him. Mari retorted, "Mother, I saved your boy from the monkey's hands. You have repaid me by breaking my leg" (**Stories** 49).

Such was the untold agony of an untouchable, in those days of the barbaric ostracism of the low caste, by the upper caste. Mari's mother Kuppayee in turn, totally convinced of her son's "sin" in entering, a Brahmin woman's house, believed that all the misery was wrought by the curse of that Brahmin woman. Severe drought drove Mari and his parents to Kandi in Ceylon, to work in the tea plantation and save their lives. Mukundan's mother died of cholera. After fifteen years, Mari got married and decided to return to Velampatti. His father, a drunkard who was missing never returned. So the whole family came back to Velampatti. Mari and Chinnan bought a pair or bullocks and a cart. But soon the bullocks became victims of an epidemic of cattle disease. Chinnan went to Penang without

telling his brother and mother. Mari's mother worried that the Brahmin woman's curse was the only reason, for all their tragedy. Such was the fear, engendered in the minds of the low caste people, by the nefarious system of casteism. During drought, Kutti Koundan was generous to allow the "untouchables", to take water from the channel flowing to the fields. But they should not dip their pots in the well. When there was severe famine, everybody was watchful to safeguard their belongings. One night, Mari's young wife went to Kutti Koundan's well and drew water from it in a pot. The man caught hold of her. She was severely beaten and she became senseless and fell on the ground. Raki, a Koundan shouted inhumanly, "Fellows, you take up this dog and get rid of the carcass in the *cheri* (**Stories** 64).

Mukundan, after passing his medical examination, became a doctor in Kamalapuram hospital. Mari's wife was admitted in that hospital. Mukundan felt the smell of jasmine, near Mari's wife under treatment. Jasmine flowers were used to be fondly collected by his mother. Thus Mukundan could see his mother in the person of Mari's wife. He could smell the fragrance of the jasmine flowers reminding him of the happy days he spent with his mother in the Velampatti house during his childhood. He pondered, "How mysterious! This perfume will not leave me. They say the dead are born again. Probably my mother is reborn in this woman. Who can say no?" (**Stories** 64).

After reading the twenty second verse of the second chapter in **Bhagavad Gita**, Mukundan thought that his mother's soul should have been re-born in some other body. In a dream, Mukundan saw his mother entering at the *cheri* carrying a pot. All the people shouted beating her, "Have you entered the cheri? What business

has a Brahmin woman here?" They cry and like wild beasts fall upon her and beat her with sticks breaking her bones" (**Stories** 66). Mukundan could see his mother dying of cholera and brought to the hospital. After this pensive dream he vowed to help Mari and his wife as his relatives. With humane attitude, Mukundan warmly invited, "You are now in the throes of a severe famine. You are all suffering terribly. You and your wife can stay in my house. I have no relatives. You and Poovayee can remain here as my brother and sister" (**Stories** 67).

He disclosed his sense of mortification and expressed, "Mari, it is a sin to let you people, lead this miserable life. I want to undergo this penance for that also. You should not refuse" (**Stories** 67). He took them into his home. But the author says that Mukundan became ostracised by the upper caste and concludes, "But his mind found peace" (**Stories** 68). Thus the story extols Mukundan's bold penance to take the lowly into his home though facing ostracism in his own locality. "The Fatal Cart" is a story about Karuppan a drunkard and the untold misery wrought by him to his innocent wife Parvathi. Karuppan bought a cart to drive for hire. Soon his cousin Raman, who accompanied him, spoiled him by initiating him to drink toddy.

Soon Karuppan's bullocks were about to be taken by the zamindar for the interest on the debt. Karuppan got money from Qadr Khan a money-lender and paid off the loan from the zamindar. Parvathi went to the house-building work and got two *annas* a day as wages. Karuppan once again became a drunkard. The instalments to be paid to Qadr Khan multiplied. Parvathi's child caught fever and died. Parvathi was slowly cajoled to yield to the carnal desire of Ismail Qadr Khan's son on the promise that he would not press for repayment. When he saw Ismail with

Parvathi, Karuppan attacked Ismail with a pick-axe and wounded him severely. Parvathi and Karuppan were locked up. They underwent the travails of interrogation by the police and the sessions case trial later in the court. Parvathi hushed up the truth and gave a narration of what had happened, as per the instructions of her lawyer. But the judge held that the evidence of Karuppan's wife was not truthful. Karuppan was awarded six years' rigorous imprisonment. She was driven off even from her brother's house. Being hopeless and homeless, Parvathi was determined to go to the summit of a rock higher than the temple on the hill. She hurled herself for a straight drop from the top of the hill. Parvathi at last cried in agony, "Mother Kali! Forgive me my sins, take me to your bosom" (**Stories** 34). Parvathi leaped down to death. Parvathi, an innocent hapless village girl given in marriage to a drunkard, had to confront poverty, personal insult and public shame.

Rajaji with a humanistic responsibility vividly brings out the menace of the liquor and its sprawling tentacles to ruin the families. Rajaji's description of the toddy shop is picturesque, unraveling its evil dimensions, with a deep Gandhian humanistic concern to eschew liquor in any form:

> Outside the Keerambur toddy shop, customers of the drummer and tanning castes and other untouchables gathered opposite the small opening in the wall made for serving toddy to them and were making a confused noise, inside, it was a regular hell, spittle, garbage and dirt. There was a swarm of flies. The odour of stale toddy filled the air. People were seated in large groups everywhere, shouting loudly. (**Stories** 33)

Parvathi a chaste woman at first, due to poverty slowly had to succumb to the carnal advances of the money-lender's son Ismail. The author says, "Parvathi held out for a long time, but every time she saw Karuppan drank, her will to resist weakened. At last she gave up the struggle" (**Stories** 32).

"The Fatal Cart" thus depicts the liquor-demon's seduction of the hapless victim Karuppan and the ruin of his whole family. At last Karuppan was imprisoned for attempted murder and Parvathi became immoral because of utter poverty and the irredeemable and irresponsible behaviour of her drunkard husband.

"The Innocent Child" is a story about untouchability and its baneful consequences. Subbu, the Brahmin boy being a child asks pertinent questions about "Untouchability". Karuppan, a boy from a low caste is not allowed to enter into the Brahmin's house. Subbu being Karuppan's friend asks, "... why shouldn't Karuppan come inside the house?" The mother retorts that Karuppan's entry will make the house polluted. Subbu enquires, "What does pollute man mother? Is it cow dung?" (**Stories** 129). The boy's inquisitive enquiry exposes the inhuman treatment meted out to Karuppan. At last, Subbu's sister Parvathi came singing one of the songs of Bharathi that all low caste would be free and freedom would be for all. She also announced that all the temples are opened to the untouchables. Krishna Ayyar remarked, "Don't you know? The world is now going topsy-turvy" (**Stories** 130). Thus the story forebodes the Gandhian humanistic dream of casteless India where all become brothers and sisters of one family.

The story "Crackers" narrates the pitiable alienation of Veeran's boy belonging to a slum. He wanted to have some crackers as other boys in the Brahmin

Parvathi a chaste woman at first, due to poverty slowly had to succumb to the carnal advances of the money-lender's son Ismail. The author says, "Parvathi held out for a long time, but every time she saw Karuppan drank, her will to resist weakened. At last she gave up the struggle" (**Stories** 32).

"The Fatal Cart" thus depicts the liquor-demon's seduction of the hapless victim Karuppan and the ruin of his whole family. At last Karuppan was imprisoned for attempted murder and Parvathi became immoral because of utter poverty and the irredeemable and irresponsible behaviour of her drunkard husband.

"The Innocent Child" is a story about untouchability and its baneful consequences. Subbu, the Brahmin boy being a child asks pertinent questions about "Untouchability". Karuppan, a boy from a low caste is not allowed to enter into the Brahmin's house. Subbu being Karuppan's friend asks, "... why shouldn't Karuppan come inside the house?" The mother retorts that Karuppan's entry will make the house polluted. Subbu enquires, "What does pollute man mother? Is it cow dung?" (**Stories** 129). The boy's inquisitive enquiry exposes the inhuman treatment meted out to Karuppan. At last, Subbu's sister Parvathi came singing one of the songs of Bharathi that all low caste would be free and freedom would be for all. She also announced that all the temples are opened to the untouchables. Krishna Ayyar remarked, "Don't you know? The world is now going topsy-turvy" (**Stories** 130). Thus the story forebodes the Gandhian humanistic dream of casteless India where all become brothers and sisters of one family.

The story "Crackers" narrates the pitiable alienation of Veeran's boy belonging to a slum. He wanted to have some crackers as other boys in the Brahmin

quarters and in the weaver's street. He was not allowed even to collect the unburnt bits of the crackers. The social alienation was so inhuman that the boy could feel the real relationship only with a small puppy. Rajaji describes the agony of the child:

> Did Veeran's son know why he had hidden like this in fear? Who can read what passes through children's minds? There was a small puppy near him. He felt a kinship with the poor beast, stood stroking it till the Brahmin gentleman was gone and then came out. After a long time he went back to the *cheri* where his father and other untouchables lived. (**Stories** 137)

The dismayed and shocked Veeran's boy, an innocent fellow could never cry for crackers for he became "instinctively" scared of crackers. An innocent child's world of joy is shattered and battered by the heinous caste system as exposed in this story. "Jagadisa Sastri's Dream" is a story about the evils of caste system and its havoc on humanity in India. Jagadisa Sastri of Rangoon served as a cook of a barrister Subbayyar. Then he started conducting the religious ceremonies of the Brahmins as a priest, since he could recite some *mantra*s. He returned to Tiruvudaimarthur and wanted to adopt a son for a secured passage to the next world. But the Kumbakonam festival attended by him changed the course of his life. Nageshwarayyar was a diamond merchant and an agent of Insurance Company. He misappropriated the money belonging to the Insurance Company. He planned to give his fourteen year old daughter to Jagadisa Sastri in marriage with a binding that Jagadisa Sastri should pay six thousand rupees to clear off Nageshwarayyar's debt to the Insurance Company. A son was born to Sastri after the marriage. The couple

left for Rangoon, but soon after the young wife's conduct became highly scandalous. Soon, she left him taking away all his cash her jewellery and belongings. Sastri was totally upset and his son, a graduated boy pursued his university studies. An arrangement was made that Sastri's boy should be sent to England at the expense of Sitaramayyar whose daughter should be married by him after his return after three years, since the Sarada Act prevented minor girls' marriage as an offence. Sastri left for Rangoon and became a heart patient. So he decided to return to India on Doctor's advice.

Sastri was entertained in Sitaramayyar's house. There was an atmosphere of tense protest against the opening of temples to *Harijans*. Rajaji narrates, "There was a talk of throwing open temples to the untouchables everywhere in the south. Sanatana *Dharma* is ruined", cried all the people in Sitaramayyar's house. Sastri thought so" (**Stories** 146). The tradition bound orthodox apprentice of Sitaramayyar politely enquired, Sastri, "Did you not cross the sea for Rangoon? That also paves the way to temple entry" (**Stories** 147). Jagadisa Sastri became impatient and asked, "What is all this irrelevant talk? Is going to Rangoon for a living, the same thing as letting untouchables into our holy temples?" (**Stories** 147).

Ironically, Jagadisa Sastri married only a daughter of the mistress of Pariarinaicken who kept a saloon in Calcutta. He was neither a Brahmin nor a diamond merchant. This fact was disclosed by Jagadisa Sastri's wife who left him in Rangoon to join a film studio. Jagadisa Sastri with greater affection towards his wife retorted, "Whoever invented this caste system? God could not have done it. Let's bury the past and return to Rangoon and live happily" (**Stories** 148).

Sastri's wife who returned to India admonished him to go to Ganges and wash his sin. But the tragedy was their son had to marry Sitaramayyar's daughter. Sastri boarded a train to go to Kasi. During the travel, he had many dreams about his son, being ostracised by every one as an issue of an impure caste created by inter-caste unions. In the dream even Sitaramayyar disowned Sastri's son named Ramachandran on the basis that he was a product of an inter-caste union. Sitaramayyar demanded Rs.15,000 spent on Ramachandra, to pursue his studies in England. Sastri struggled to change his son into a "Brahmin" by requesting a head of a mutt, who burst in emotion, "Impossible! His caste can be destroyed only when his body is burnt to ashes" (**Stories** 148).

In another dream, even in a hotel the father and the son were hounded out. At last he approached Rao Bahadur Narasimhachariar of Kumbakonam, a member of the Delhi Assembly. But he also turned down Sastri's request to appoint his son as his clerk. The boy lamented, "I am of an impure caste. You yourself said so." Sastri cried, "Alas! It is true. Will no one burn the Shastras to ashes'?" (**Stories** 151). In the dream, even it became impossible for Ramachandran to become a railway porter. People objected to his touching their luggage. It was unfortunate that they couldn't even drink water from a village well. The crowd pounced on the boy furiously. Sastri and his son ran into a temple. Sastri wailed, "May we at least enter your temple? Who else but you can give us succour?" (**Stories** 152-53).

A voice seemed to say from inside the temple, "You may enter without fear. I am mother and father to everyone. I know of no distinctions" (**Stories** 153). The priest yelled that a person of impurity had entered into the temple. Even there, they

are hounded by a temple priest and a mob soon surrounded them. Sastri defended "He is my son." But then Sastri's wife arrived and shouted, "That is a lie. Don't believe the old man. He is my son. He is of a mixed origin..." (**Stories** 153). The crowd fell upon Ramachandran. Sastri shirked himself and got up from the dream. Later Ramachandran returned from England and became the Assistant Collector of Kurnool. The truth about his parentage was not disclosed either to Ramachandra himself or to Sitaramayyar. The Sastri was believed to have become a *Sanyasi.* There was another version that he had drowned himself in the Ganges. After waiting for Sastri's arrival in vain, the marriage between Sitaramayyar's daughter and Assistant Collector J. R. Chandra went on as agreed earlier in the indenture. Rajaji concludes, "It was celebrated with all pomp and ceremony, like other marriages in Mylapore" (**Stories** 50). Thus this story brings out the tricky intricacies of the inhuman caste system enforced on the hapless Indian humanity. Being a loyal devotee of Gandhian humanism, Rajaji artistically exposes the ugly dimensions of casteism and its inhuman ostracism through the dreams of Jagadisa Sastri.

The short story "The Awakening of Rajulu Chettiar" brings out the Gandhian humanistic ideal of trusteeship and its benevolence to the hapless. Rajulu Chettiar, a rich businessman habitually and involuntarily called "Govindia" after bundling the currency notes. He suffered from rheumatism in the knee. Suddenly Krishna appeared in human form without the conch and discus. So Chettiar misunderstood Krishan for a thief and cried with fear. Lord Krishna said, "Don't be afraid, Rajulu, you called me and I came" (**Stories** 160). But Chettiar was totally confused and thought a dark skinned thief came to plunder and kill him. Soon he swooned. After

some time, when he became conscious he could see, Govinda appearing in Godlike form with four hands with a conch and a discus.

Krishna asked, "What do you want? Tell me and I shall grant your wish, but you must give up your great avarice for wealth." "What do you wish me to do with my money?" asked Chettiar (**Stories** 161). Before Krishna could reply, Chettiar's wife and his grandson knocked at the door and Krishna disappeared. Chettiar attended a temple function, where a *bhagavatar* or a master of Puranic stories capable of singing and narrating the Puranas with histrionic skills through discourses, was conducting a discourse. During the discourse the *bhagavatar* explained that Kannan was a thief and he could get in anywhere; even a bolted door was not a block to his entry. Then Chettiar got clarified and openly declared to the *bhagavatar*, that he had seen Krishna in God like form. Everybody was laughing that Chettiar was joking.

But soon Chettiar executed a gift deed and donated twenty thousand rupees for a home for the blind, the lame and other handicapped. He set apart fifty thousand rupees for a maternity home for the poor women. When the news spread about Chettiar's compassion the *bhagavatar* gloated in self glory that his discourse had changed Chettiar to do so. But the writer quips, "But nobody knew that all this was Krishna's Maya. Chettiar too did not tell anyone who would believe him if he told them?" (**Stories** 162). Thus Rajaji reiterates the Gandhian humanism, which encourages the rich to set apart their excessive wealth for the noble cause of helping the hapless through trusteeship. Chettiar being awakened and enlightened executed the same in this short story "The Awakening of Rajulu Chettiar".

The short story, "Swamiyar Nalli" opens with the conversation between the old man and Ramanathan Chettiar, the Secretary of the club. They talked about the hand-pulled rickshaws being replaced by motor rickshaws. The old man hinted at the unbearable noise caused by the motor rickshaws and said, "These motor rickshaws make insufferable noise! How convenient were the old time rickshaws" (**Stories** 205). Ramanathan Chettiar questions, "Is it not against humanity and civilization that a man must be made to pull a vehicle like a bullock?" (**Stories** 205).

The old man agreed that it was inhuman. Then the old man started narrating the story of "Swamiyar Nalli". Rickshawala Nalli was a teetotaller, so other companions who drank illicit liquor called him "Swamiyar Nalli". Nalli used to worship the picture of Hanuman before he plied his rickshaw. Because of his devotion too, he was known as "Swamiyar Nalli". He lived with his mother, a frugal life within his earning of three rupees a day. Though the mother was aggrieved over her son's suffering in pulling a rickshaw, Nalli consoled his mother, "What is there undignified in pulling a rickshaw? What is wrong in carrying in a vehicle those who cannot walk? I think it is a noble occupation, Mother do not grieve. God takes care of us" (**Stories** 206). Nalli had so much of compassion that he did not get a single coin from a poor pregnant woman, whom he took in his rickshaw to a maternity hospital. The woman exclaimed, "You are the God Muruga Himself" (**Stories** 207).

Nalli had a determination to earn three rupees a day and then to carry a sick person in his rickshaw free of charge. Many people praised him. Even some Europeans would come to see Nalli taking the poor patient on a free ride. Even

when they offered a five rupee note Nalli would refuse any charity and ask them to get into the rickshaw if he had to accept any money. His mother exclaimed, "Nalli, you are the image of God". Nalli asked, "Are we not all His images, mother?" (**Stories** 208). Thus "Swamiyar Nalli" exposes the pristine Gandhian humanistic principles one should follow such as simple life of frugality with great thinking of dignity of labour, love for all, teetotalism and veneration for the divinity in everybody.

The Gandhian cardinal humanistic principles such as Non-violence, Self-rule, Democracy, Political liberty, Non-cooperation, Trusteeship, Compassion, *Khadi* Movement, Dignity and love of labour, Prohibition of liquor, Abolition of untouchability, Hindu-Muslim fraternity, Acceptance of all faiths, Tolerance, Oneness of humanity, Universal happiness, Peace and the Welfare of all humanity have been well expressed in Rajaji's works. This Gandhian humanism enunciated by Rajaji leads to embark on the study of the Democratic humanism and its credentials in the works of Rajaji in Chapter-III. Since the true Democratic system actualises and practises the basic principles of Gandhian humanism, Rajaji gives a clarion call for establishing it on perfect humanistic principles, to emerge into the Democratic humanism envisaged in his works. So now we move on to Chapter-III and study the next dimension of Rajaji's humanism called Democratic humanism.

CHAPTER - III

DEMOCRATIC HUMANISM IN RAJAJI

Chapter III

DEMOCRATIC HUMANISM IN RAJAJI

Rajaji propounds the Democratic Humanism as the best means of self-governance to implement the cardinal Gandhian humanistic principles in India and abroad. This chapter scrutinises the inherent Democratic humanism in the works of Rajaji.

The word democracy originated from the Greek words "demos" which means the people and "Kartein" which means to rule (**Funk & Wagnalls** 121). Democracy as a political system is defined as a "... system of government in which all the people of a country can vote to elect their representatives", termed as "parliamentary democracy" (**Oxford** 334). **The Encyclopedia Americana** traces the history of Democracy and its nature. It divulges, "History discloses three conflicting types of political democracy" (**Americana** 639). They are Direct Democracy, Formal Democracy and Liberal Democracy. The Direct Democracy was in practice in some of the ancient Greek City States, in a few German tribes belonging to the First century and in some of the ancient Swiss cantons and in the town meetings of the New England. The Direct Democracy is obsolete today, since it emphasizes the "immediate, unorganized public opinion and tends, to identify the will of the people with majority decision" (**Americana** 639).

The Direct Democracy is rendered impractical in the modern era because of the massive population, plethora of political divisions, the surge of nationalism and

the complex intricate problems of industrialization. The second type or Democracy is liberal Democracy which came into vogue by 1920, in the United States, in Western Europe and in the British Commonwealth of Nations. In this system, the public opinion is mobilized and disclosed through the representatives of political parties. These parties face the election in stipulated regular intervals. The law framing legislature is formed to decide any policy through debate and passed by the majority of the members of the legislature. So Liberal Democracy is defined as "an indirect, representative and constitutional government controlled by a multiparty system and universal adult suffrage" (**Americana** 639). In liberal Democracy the executive power is vested in a Prime Minister and his cabinet or in an independently elected president and his cabinet. The efficacy of this Liberal Democracy depends on the political acumen of the citizens and the leaders. The third type of Democracy is Totalitarian Democracy. It is defined as a system which defends temporary dictatorship, as a necessary means to a Utopian end, in which, "anarchic freedom and material equality, will finally prevail" (**Americana**, 639). But this kind of Totalitarian Democracy which combines the debating rhetoric of the Liberal Democracy, the idealism of socialism, the involvement of the people of Direct Democracy and the terrorizing tendency of the totalitarianism, will liquidate the pristine values of Liberal Democracy (**Americana**, 640).

Similar fear struck Rajaji in the post-Gandhian Era. He anticipated the deterioration of the Gandhian values in public life. So Rajaji hailed the Free India's Parliamentary Democracy as bedrock of good governance. As an ideology or a way of life the Democratic Humanism founded on strong, democratic values and

principles is inherent in Rajaji's writings and speeches, The values or liberty, fraternity, altruism, equality, love, peace, amity, dignity of labour, tolerance and the freedom of the individual acceptability of different philosophies, religions, languages cultural pluralism are innate in the Democratic ideology. These values harmoniously blossom into the Democratic Humanism. It includes all the major virtues of the modern Democracy namely the individual freedom, which ensures liberty to all citizens, the responsibility of moulding their own careers, conducting their own activities, equality before law, universal suffrage and education (**Funk & Wagnalls** 122). Rajaji as a true custodian of this Democratic Humanism willed the Parliamentary Democracy in Free India, to enliven all these virtues, in precept and practice, so that India could be a model Democracy to the whole world, safeguarding human dignity and freedom human welfare.

Rajaji scanned as a Democratic humanist the maladies brewing underneath in the parliamentary system in Free India. Rajaji's writings and speeches addressed the issues responsible for the malfunctioning of the Government in power and strongly recommended his resourceful solutions, to pave the way, for good Democratic governance, for the welfare of all the citizens of India. The former president of India, Rajendra Prasad recalls the alacrity and the acumen of Rajaji in solving the imbroglio. He admits:

> Rajaji is never lacking in initiative and resourcefulness. However baffling the problem may be, he can come forward with suggestions and solutions after solution. Possessing a keen intellect, he possesses an equally facile pen. (**Rescue** 2)

The former Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, rightly assessed the calibre of Rajaji's intellect and his integrity in decision-making. Nehru acknowledges:

> I must say that very few persons there are in India, with whom I should like to discuss any intricate problem or issue, more than with Rajaji. I do not know if after discussion with him, I would agree with him or not, but I am sure that a discussion with him would do me good and probably I would agree with him. That is the type of keen mind, the mind of a person of the highest integrity and self-sacrifice. That, 1 say, is an invaluable asset to a nation. (**Rescue** 2)

The former Home Minister Vallabhbhai Patel lauded the humanistic role of Rajaji as a veteran administrator during a period of political turbulence. Patel states:

> Rajaji is an acknowledged leader of our country. He is a great administrator, a great patriot and a wise statesman. It is our good fortune to have in a period of crisis the guidance of one on whom we can rely for advice and counsel. (**Rescue** 2)

Such a leader of sharp acumen in decision-making and a resourceful administrator, Rajaji chose the parliamentary democracy as the best administrative system with highly practicable humanistic values. Rajaji lauds the simplicity and the shrewdness of the virtuous people of our land, who cannot be mesmerized and duped by the tall claims of the ruling party. Only the moralistic and humanistic functioning in politics will be respected and loved by the people of India. No party

can take them for a ride by false promises. Rajaji aptly points out this to discipline the leadership of the ruling party and to safeguard the humanistic ideals of Democracy. He corroborates his confidence in the people and their humanistic virtues to save Democracy and reiterates:

> Unless we put in more ethical content in our lives, political as well as social, the people of India will not be in love with us. They are simple folk but the fundamental shrewdness of good people helps them to discriminate Window-dressed austerities have not much pull with them? (**Rescue** 78).

This noble nature innate in Indians safeguards and sustains the validity of their franchise and universal suffrage.

Any change political or social brings with it, a corollary which may be unpleasant and some time unjust. But tolerance to put up with such painful consequences triggered off by the partition of India and to be cheerful should be the virtue of our people according to Rajaji. As a Democratic humanist, Rajaji directs the people of India to have profound faith in Democracy and in their own inner strength. He points out, "I do not want anybody to imagine that we are having undeserved misfortunes. We must go through all these things and we must go through them cheerfully" (**Speeches** 127). Such a tolerance and cheerfulness in bracing any misfortune is the basis for National Unity and sovereignty.

Democracy functions very effectively, only on the basis of absolute discipline on mutual agreement. To preserve it one need not tell another to be disciplined. One need not be impatient over other's indiscipline. It is better that one

becomes impatient to one's own indiscipline. If everybody becomes, a self made citizen of perfect discipline, others will emulate their good lives. Then the freedom in Democracy will become meaningful and fruitful. Rajaji provides the right direction and says, "If you must be impatient, be impatient with yourself. Say to yourself, 'Let me be disciplined', don't say to others, 'Be disciplined'" (**Speeches** 149). This self-discipline forms the basis of Self-rule and Gandhiji trained the Indian people to face the British Colonial regime with this inner discipline.

Gandhiji trained us to fight the British without fear and bloodshed and with non-violent methods of agitation. He taught us to suffer with courage, for a noble cause of freeing our mother land from the British (**Dear Reader** 5).

Rajaji strongly proposes that no one has the right lo live in the land of Gandhi, unless be nurtures the moral probity and fearlessness to obey the dictates of one's conscience. Indians are not work-minded and as industrious as the Chinese people (**Dear Reader** 5). The moral strength provides the prowess to oppose any injustice and promotes the inner strength and dynamism of the people under Democracy.

The people are the roots of the tree called Democracy. Thus Democracy is based on the strength and stamina of the citizens. Rajaji brings out the indispensable role of the citizens, their dignity and worth in nation building. The people are the roots of the tree and its top is the government. If the roots go dry any wind can easily uproot the tree. So is the case of a Government, if they ignore the common people's welfare and subjugate them to authoritarian "over government". The individual's courage to follow the dictates of his own conscience and his integrity to

oppose it would safeguard the sanctity of the Democratic humanism. Rajaji affirms, "Democracy's roots are down in the citizen's stamina and good sense and courage, not only against enemies abroad and in the daily struggle for bread, but against the enemies of freedom and power-grabbers within the nation" (**Dear Reader** 10).

So the individual's stamina should be so strong to resist, when the authoritarianism of the State tries to liquidate his dignity and freedom. "Per capita moral stamina" is as important and valuable as "per capita income" in a healthy Democracy (**Dear Reader** 11).

Just like the "per capita moral stamina" the highest regard and respect should be given to the constitution of India.

A good government in Rajaji's Democratic humanistic conviction, always respects the Constitution, the order in everything and the socio-economic justice, avoiding Communism. Such a government cannot rely on mere votes in the parliament, since a no-confidence motion is based on the violation of the moral law. Numbers cannot dupe the public about their judgement of the performance of a party on the basis of the moral law. Though outwardly the government may seem to be healthy in its functioning, the inner disease may reduce its worth in eyes of the public who understood what had transpired in the debate. Rajaji states, "A moral thrombosis can take it to a collapse, even as it often happens that an athlete with his muscles all in fine condition collapses when his heart suffers a thrombosis" (**Dear Reader** 3).

A good government is not one that often calls the constabulary to suppress the restive public, irritated over its maladministration. Rajaji opines with a

humanistic zeal that it cannot be called a good government, if it takes away all the fundamental rights and reduces the people to slaves. Democratic humanism opposes the perpetuation of the authoritarian regime under the guise and under the pretext of "stability". The people of India require only a "good government" and not a stable government alone (**Dear Reader** 4).

To establish a "good government", Rajaji hits at the wrong notion of understanding Socialism, as *permit Licence-Raj*. He says that true Socialism is the opposite of it. In the name of Socialism, certain rich people should not be authorized, to monopolize certain fields of production and distribution in the realms of Industry and Trade. If allowed, it will only make the rich richer and poor the poorer thus widening the disparity (**Dear Reader** 29).

Thus Rajaji expresses his democratic humanistic appeal championing the cause of the poor mass of India. Rajaji states with a conviction that genuine socialism can be achieved only in producing wealth by multiple productive private concerns, otherwise it will be a hunt for the elusive "bewitching stag" portrayed in **The Ramayana** (**Dear Reader** 31). Rajaji advises, "Socialism should be based on love of the poor and not on hatred or jealousy" (**Dear Reader** 32).

The workers on their part as the responsible citizens of a Democratic Nation should realize that unless wealth is constantly produced no superior could render a just distribution of the means of happiness. According to Rajaji's vision they should put their faith in the humanistic credentials of Democracy and put an end to have trust in class struggles. Rajaji professes his faith in Democratic humanism and states:

> We should trust democracy to ensure just distribution and not look to class struggle for salvation. Class struggle means hatred and fouling of the atmosphere and unhappiness for all and submission to the crudest type of tyranny at the end of it. The delays of democracy are after all better than the violence and hatred of class struggle, better for all concerned. (**Speeches** 169)

With the same humanistic craving, to have a good Democratic Government, Rajaji advises the common folk, to do their work with commitment and honesty within each one's jurisdiction, so that their cooperation with the government brings happiness to all. Simply levelling charges against the Ministers and criticising the functioning of the Government would not help establishing a good government capable of enacting the principles of Democratic humanism. Rajaji in his civic address at Trivandrum as the Governor General of India, admonishes the common citizens and speaks, "You have achieved freedom. If you go to sleep over that freedom not a tortoise but misfortune will overtake you" (**Speeches** 38).

The democratic government should treat all the people alike with a profound sense of equality and affection as the "practical code" suggested by Rajaji. This is to be followed in precept and practice, daily, in all walks of life. In his address, at the foundation-stone laying ceremony of the new building for the Muslim Orphanage at Thyagaraya Nagar, Madras, Rajaji, the Governor General of India asserts, "Not only our government, but the *Dharma* of our people also commits them to this attitude of perfect equality irrespective of caste or creed. I want you to make this your practical code of thinking and acting" (**Speeches** 55). Such a "perfect equality" within the

nation takes India to the world citizenship to have the same equality among all other nations.

In the Madras University convocation address, Rajaji speaks of India's Global citizenship. The Free India released from the clutches of the British Imperialism is expected to preserve and maintain its identity as the Democratic Country and to secure its place in the world civilization, after having a strong relationship with the west and having a responsible role in Asia. *Dharma* should be the guiding force of our democracy and India has to qualify itself to attain the highest humanistic value called the world citizenship in all respects. The Democratic humanism impels India to think of the world and the man "as a whole" so that such a broad humanistic outlook and vision would make India stronger and purer (**Speeches** 64).

Rajaji as the Democratic humanist opposes the idea that franchise should be restricted to the literates alone. The proponents of the literate centred franchise fear that our Democracy will fail when it involves the illiterate who form the majority of the population.

But Rajaji distinguishes between literacy and education. He points out that only true education could be a cure and literacy alone cannot be a cure for the ills predicted by those, who want to restrict the franchise to the literates. According to Rajaji, attaining character formation is the true education and not merely loading information about certain subjects through Educational Institutions. "Education is real", asserts Rajaji, "Only if it confers on the recipient the capacity to know and choose good and the strength to reject evil" (**Rescue** 66).

Since our civilization reiterated *dharma* in all walks of life, through many millennia, many of the most uneducated among our citizens could distinguish good from evil. Such a sagacious acumen of the common people in India enables the Democratic system to function effectively for the welfare of all the citizens. Rajaji gives a clarion call to support the hapless illiterate majority who are truly educated in this sense. He exhorts the people to love and patronise such a majority and explains the meaning of true education, "...many there are who passed through school and college and acquired degrees but who are yet not educated in this true sense" (**Rescue** 66).

But in the recent days "Mammon" or the devil of wealth has begun to have the citizens of India in its sway. People become crazy of wealth and money power. The material prosperity is not a stagnant target, but rather an ever elusive one, thus making people aimless and worthless. A genuine Democracy can become alive and strong only, when people begin to live through hard work and sacrifice. Rajaji says that the citizens of India have inherited and imbibed the essence of their own respective traditions, scriptures and literature. But in recent times people have begun to prioritise wealth above the human values of hard work and Rajaji asserts:

> Material wealth is a moving target and does not stay fixed. It flies higher and higher as we try to reach it. It is through the spoken word and pious worship and rituals that the knowledge as well as the capacity to work and suffer for the good were acquired and conserved by our people through the ages. (**Rescue** 66)

Thus materialism endangers the credentials of Democracy which can be secured only by the people's spiritual and moral strength to suffer for the good alone. The party system forms the mechanics of the Democracy and its functioning.

This party system which came down to us from Britain has not been accepted by some of the people including some saints. They clamour for a no-party system. But Rajaji wants the Democratic system to wholly rest on the party system, which establishes the channels for the direct participation of the people, in electing their own Government. He quotes Edmund Burke who corroborates:

> Party divisions, whether on the whole operating for good or evil, are things inseparable from free government. This is a truth which, I believe, admits little dispute, having been established by the uniform experience of all ages. (**Rescue** 68)

Thus the party system paves the way for a good democratic government. But the party system in India which goes by the ruling of whip in the control and which intimidates its parliamentary or assembly members, to follow the dictates of the party High Command, definitely indulges in coercion according to Rajaji. In his opinion this system eats into the vitals of the freedom of opinion and expression enjoyed by every member of a party. Rajaji the Democratic humanist champions this cause of the members of the parliament and substantiates:

> The freedom of opinion associated with parliamentary democracy has become an illusion. Members are compelled to vote according to order and not according to their conviction. Hence, the word 'whip'

> has come rightly to represent the coercive element in voting. Members have become horses or hounds driven by party leaders. (**Rescue** 73)

Thus Rajaji asserts the individual member's basic right to freely express his opinion on policies and decisions in question, in the Parliament. The loyalty of the member to his party should be stemming from his commitment to his own conscience and not from the coercion by the party leadership. Rajaji affirms:

> Strictly speaking, the threats of 'severe notice' by party bosses and the like are all breaches of the privilege of the house. They nullify the justifications advanced for parliamentary democracy. We may at least avoid the indecency of flagrant nullification. (**Rescue** 74)

Thus the Democratic humanistic value of individual member's freedom of opinion and his expression is upheld by Rajaji.

According to Rajaji, mere "isms" could not decide the fate and prospect of the nation. In Rajaji's opinion only the impeccable "National character" could lead a nation, to genuine welfare and prosperity. "National Character" cannot be established in vacuum. It is built by the integrity and the honesty or each citizen. A citizen has to be good and working hard both intellectually and physically to raise a successful nation (**Rescue** 78).

For Rajaji, "National character is the keystone of national affairs. It locks all the bricks together like the keystone in the arch. If the keystone is not there, the arch goes to pieces and tumbles down" (**Rescue** 78).

So in the interest of the nation and its welfare, each activity, which could shape and promote the character of the men and women, is so vital and imperative

to stabilze politics, economy and defence. Gandhiji wanted to spiritualize politics only with this objective of building the national character by encouraging the individual to honestly work hard. For Gandhiji, morality and politics are inseparable. Rajaji divulges the way to achieve such a national character:

> If the parched field of Indian politics and administration has to get fresh green life and grow, we need the monsoon of purity in national character. And the monsoon consists of little drops falling and uniting to make the rain. (**Rescue** 78)

The "little drops" signify the impeccable character of the individuals which combine to make the monsoon called the purity of the national character. If the purity should embrace the National character then the administrators should be conscientious. Rajaji invokes the conscience of the administrators at the apex level to ensure fair and just democratic governance. Money power is the greatest peril gnawing its teeth to eat the roots of free fair elections, which are the sources of a genuine democratic system. During the period between 1957 and 1970, Rajaji boldly asserted his humanistic principles in his articles, based on the values of Democratic Humanism. With a prophetic vision far ahead of his times, Rajaji wrote them. R. R. Diwakar and S. Ramakrishnan, the General Editors of the collection of Rajaji's articles entitled **Rescue Democracy from Money Power** point out:

> An embodiment of simple living and high thinking and utterly unselfish Rajaji was endowed with prophetic insight and unique capacity to look far ahead of his times - as the readers would see in this collection of his articles. (**Rescue** 7)

Rajaji in Lokanayak Jayaprakash Narayan's assessment played a key role in shaping India's destiny both in the pre-independence era and in the Post-Independence era. According to him, Rajaji played a vital role in the "National politics" rather than in the "Congress Politics" (**Rescue** 9). Jayaprakash Narayan remarks:

> A man of very strong convictions and willing to make any sacrifice to live by them, Rajaji, instead of devoting the evening of his busy and achievement backed life in rest and relaxation, doggedly fought for the re-enthronement of moral values in politics and public life and emerged as the 'democratic conscience' of post-Independent India. (**Rescue**, Foreword 9)

Thus as the "democratic conscience" of the post-Independent India, Rajaji portrays the corruptive practices of the political parties and their party men. Often the politicians loving power and position become the minions of their parties and the parties in turn become servile to their financiers in the guise of businessmen. This corruptive trend cuts across the sanctity of Democracy, which stands for the freedom and equal chances to all its citizens. Rajaji points out this grave danger to the humanistic spirit of the Democratic parliamentary system and admonishes:

> A sense of oppression, the opposite of freedom, has paradoxically seized men as a result of the flaw in the application of the mechanics of democracy. It has demonstrated the truth that what is meant for one country may be poison for another country. (**Rescue** 27)

Thus the misuse of democratic system yields only a sense of dejection and depression in the minds of the citizens. To scuttle such deterioration in democracy Rajaji suggests that a change in the election mechanics will bring a remedy. The only way is to make elections less expensive so that the humanistic objective of the democratic system to enthrone freedom replacing the dictatorship in the realm of political aspirations and to liberate merit from the clutches of the party funds (**Rescue** 27).

To curtail the huge expenditure on elections, which proves to be "a monstrous unproductive waste" Rajaji suggests a system like "decennial census operations" replacing "the present booths as a means of periodically ascertaining men's minds" (**Rescue** 27). The state can run the elections instead of parties and help the candidates to liberate themselves from the evil ties of illegal finance and its grave consequences. Nationalizing elections by Government-run official mobile units to go to the voters in each constituency, to collect the ballot papers similar to the collection of census data, at each house, will drastically reduce the expenditure met by the parties and the individuals. Rajaji with practical sagacity and a profound humanistic concern comments with sarcasm:

> Of course this change in procedure would carry with it the elimination of all the attractive elements of political adventure including short term propaganda and 'education of the voters' through libel and slander. (**Rescue** 28)

Thus the politicians' tactics of indoctrinating the voters with false promises and hopes can be successfully defeated by the nationalization of election process and the official mobile units to collect the votes.

Besides the election reforms the corruptive practice of accepting the company donations to run the party and to meet its election expenditure should be weeded out. Rajaji points out the perils of admitting company donations to party funds. The companies who donate will be accustomed to obey the Government orders as well as to support the ruling party affairs. Those who don't comply with this would face orders of victimization which could ruin their business. Thus with the humane concern to safeguard the democratic rights of the company, Rajaji warns, "The controls on imports, exports and distribution are enough to squash any business at any time" (**Rescue** 29).

Rajaji warns that the people's Representation Act and its ceilings on the election expenditure by candidates could be made futile by the donation raising cravings of the ruling party. The demand for exempting the party funds, from Income Tax would result in the establishing of only one-party rule, which will destabilize the Democratic system and its credentials (**Rescue** 30).

Rajaji championing the cause of Democratic Humanism voices his deep concern to save its sanctity and says, "The law in America was passed after considerable experience and the law in India should be far stricter if we want even the semblance of fair elections in this country" (**Rescue** 30).

Besides funds, the ruling party's power and authority endanger the possibility of holding free and fair elections. Rajaji suggests that it is imperative on

the part of the ruling party to relinquish power before elections, so that the same party is not automatically re-elected by its exercise of official power, in a regimented economy. Rajaji states:

> In an economy such as we have, where thousands of crores, raised here and abroad, are handled by industrialists and others under the more or less direct regimentation of the ruling party in every detail, we cannot but expect absolution and unbroken single party rule, if the suggestion that there should be a break during election time is not accepted. (**Rescue** 30)

There is yet another danger lurking in when the same party is re-elected time and again. The peril is the erosion of the foundation of Democracy that is the existence of a strong opposition party to check and question the functioning of the ruling party, to safeguard the interests of the citizens. Rajaji admonishes that the very identity of the state may disappear if One Party rule persists. He warns, "The one thing it cares for is to be re-elected time after time, so that all distinction between party and state may disappear in the minds of the people and in the day-to-day administration of the land" (**Rescue** 31).

The donation by the management of the benefiting company does not belong to them, but the ruling party justifies it; flouting the credentials of the Democracy as a humanistic ideology as a just system administration, "of the people, by the people and for the people". Rajaji lampoons the receiving of such donations from the companies thus:

> The people's Representation Act puts certain ceilings on expenditure by candidates and has other elaborate provisions, but the Congress party collects funds from its fat oxen and spends the money - God knows how - so as to nullify all these ceilings and restrictions, so elaborately laid down at Dr. Ambedkar's instance. (**Rescue** 30)

Rajaji suggests, "six months interregnum for the party government", so that a non party administration, under the leadership of the President and the Governors could operate within their respective jurisdictions, Rajaji's direction to the ruling party to safeguard Democracy, as a humanistic principle and a pragmatic administrative system, is negated by the power mongers. Rajaji comments on such a selfish attitude so ironically and says, "If we are not to have company money, how can we win? If we step out of Government the voters will not vote for us but will vote as they please" **Rescue** 32). This is what the members of the once great Indian National Congress say to themselves in unashamed manner; reject the suggestion of an interval of no party rule and a ban on the exploitation of company funds for election expenditure (**Rescue** 32).

The ruling party thrives on another promise that people will vote only for a "stable" government. But Rajaji declines to accept this argument and warns that if the conscience of the people becomes benumbed the humanistic ideals of Democracy will be at stake and *Dharma* or "Righteousness" alone, should win in the form of True Democracy. Rajaji states:

> They will vote for a 'stable' government. Tyranny will indeed be stable if the conscience and courage of the people go to sleep. Awake

> courage, awake conscience, if democratic government is not to be lost by desuetude! Remember that *dharma* and *dharma* alone must win. There is the old and the true teachings. Do not believe that there is safety in yielding to fear. It is suicide and such suicide leads to a world of darkness, to life without light. (**Rescue** 33)

Justifying the legalization of the collection of funds for election expenditure is still worse. This legalization will devastate Democracy. Rajaji reiterates that 'moral principle is the foundation of sound polity' (**Rescue** 30) and forebodes that the legalization of amassing funds from the businessmen for the purpose of election expenditure, will reduce the election to a mere "farce". Rajaji forebodes:

> The legalization of the government party collecting funds for election purposes from businessmen placed by the law, at its mercy, every stage and incident of their occupation is an axe laid al the root of parliamentary democracy. It reduces the five-yearly general elections to a farce. (**Rescue** 35)

As the champion of the Democratic Humanism, Rajaji boldly advocates two solutions to cure the ruling party's maladies. He raises the humane plea on behalf of the hopeless individuals and families, who face the brutal oppression from the ruling party which runs the "permit-and-license regime". He argues in favour of the hapless individuals and families:

> The people are brave but, alas they are caught in the barbed entanglements of the state which does not hesitate to exercise its power on any individual in any occupation. How can family and

business face the ruin that a permit and license regime can, at any moment, bring down on them? (**Rescue** 36).

Rajaji suggests practical impartial measures to reform the election procedure, in order to save the democratic humanistic ideals. With a humanistic concern for the individual citizen and for the efficacious functioning of Democracy as an administrative system, Rajaji suggests so prophetically the issue of the voter's card to each voter by the state. It is the duty of the state to educate the citizen to realize his valuable democratic right of franchise. Rajaji points out:

> The state through its permanent officials should give him his voting card which should enable him to know his number in the rolls and exercise his right without his having to be informed and pestered by candidates and their agents. (**Rescue** 40)

The Swatantra party's plea, to ban absolutely the donations to party funds by companies was pronounced by the Santhanam Committee appointed, by the Government of India in 1964, to suggest measures for prevention of corruption, under the chairmanship of K. Santhanam. Rajaji reiterates that the State should take the maximum part of all the work related to the Elections, so that only the barest minimum of the election work should be left to the parties and their candidates.

Involving a mobile organization by the State, to conduct the poll by moving from house to house to collect the votes, would definitely reduce the expenditure and eradicate corruption (**Rescue** 35).

In spite of all his premonition about the future of Democracy in India, Rajaji positively exudes confidence, in stabilizing and strengthening it as a humanistic

understand and respect other faiths and make our Parliamentary Democracy *fruitful* and effective. If people imbibe this true education of preferring the good always with a conviction and with the genuine efficiency and readiness to work and suffer for it, Parliamentary Democracy could be alive (**Rescue** 66).

The success of the Parliamentary Democracy rests on the foundations of the integrity, honesty and efficacy of the administrators directly in-charge of the Government. Rajaji with a Democratic humanistic concern for the direct participation of the people opposes the suggestion of having indirect election through electoral colleges (**Rescue** 68). Rajaji points out the lurking danger in the indirect election:

> Indirect election will have to go with decentralized administration by elected office-bearers. There will be plenty of intimidation, want of integration and tyranny, but the people will get the government they deserve, which is an inescapable harmony and they may get used to it. (**Rescue** 68)

Rajaji the Democratic Humanist presses for a "pluralist party structure", so that the individual can enjoy his freedom, though all the political parties are reduced to oligarchies. Rajaji reiterates the need for a strong opposition party and asserts:

> The one-party democracies where the ruling party faces no powerful opposition, or none at all, always end in totalitarianism and in the wreckage of individual freedom without which there can be no real democracy. (**Rescue** 76)

The poor in our country, under parliamentary system will be hood-winked by two types of tactics of the ruling party, which makes tall claims to wipe out poverty from our soil. The first will be that only the persons patronized by the political parties can stand in the highly expensive election and secondly votes will be conveniently bartered in huge blocks, to favour the total success of the ruling party. Rajaji heavily comes down on this hypocrisy in the name of Democracy. If there is a single-party control over India and its elections, then Rajaji says, "The Union becomes a legal fiction" (**Rescue** 76).

Though prophesy about the prospects of Democracy in India, seem to provide a bleak picture, Rajaji the humanist expresses his unshakeable confidence in the innate noble nature of our people and exudes confidence thus:

> As against this dark picture, I may express the hope that the people of our country have solid virtues and may not allow things to go wrong. They may assert themselves and save democracy in spite of single party tyrannies and their cumulative powers. (**Rescue** 77)

Rajaji's democratic humanistic vision forebodes the evils of inflation and heavy taxation which ultimately crush the individual citizen.

The disease of inflation has been eating into the vitals of the economy in the world. The same virulent ailment has attacked the poor Indian, who has to support many unemployed dependents in his family. Rajaji assails the ignorance of the administrators to find a solution through heavy taxation. With a profound humanistic concern for the welfare of the middle classes and the poor men who are the worst affected by inflation, Rajaji cautions, "But in India, where even very poor

men have a number of idle unemployed dependents to support, it has assumed a relatively intolerable pitch" (**Rescue** 79).

Because of inflation, cost of living and prices go up and the value of investments, after a period goes down. The common poor citizen is thus doubly harassed, that is to buy any thing he has to pay more and gets back any investment or deposit in a devalued rate, perhaps some times half of what had been perceived as due (**Rescue** 79). Rajaji on behalf of the common people as a Democratic humanist says, "National welfare consists after all in the common man's domestic affairs. Unless this improves, there will not be that sense of peace and happiness which is welfare" (**Rescue** 78).

It is not advisable to steadily increase the tax, on the common man, since it is not a reliable solution to curb the inflation. Rajaji calls this exercise a weakening measure of Democracy which is to be scrupulously avoided. He comments with a deep humanistic concern:

> Progressive taxation is an emasculating deceiver. We must cut our coat according to the cloth. Let us remember in the application of the maxim, the cloth is a living sentient thing, not dead or anaesthetized matter. (**Rescue** 79)

Excessive expenditure, on defence, can be reasonably contained, since sizable portion of that in the budget, could be earmarked, for the welfare of the common man, which will be the real defence. The day-to-day advancements in military science are so rapidly nimble that every acquisition of arms becomes,

outdated and futile, rendering the Nation so weak in economy. So, Rajaji with the positive bold step, in the humanistic interest of common citizens suggests:

> Let us gather the courage of peace and righteousness and save our resources from being wasted on what is called defence and spend them for the improvement of the daily lives of our men and women which would be truer defence. Let us do this at least for a dozen years and then we may appraise conditions and adjust our policy. (**Rescue** 78)

Rajaji the Democratic humanist, having relentless faith in Truth and prefers people's welfare and contentment to anything else. He proclaims a very bold measure based on the conviction of prioritizing the public welfare, to relegate and curtail the excessive military expenditure, especially involved against the arms race with the American-aided Pakistan. With the genuine and firm conviction of a pragmatic Democratic and humanistic Statesman, Rajaji pronounces:

But of pre-eminent importance is what has been already stated a bold repudiation of the policy of competing in military investments with American-aided Pakistan. A great reliance should be placed on the strength issuing out of a contented people whose welfare has been looked after that on the security that such military expenditure is imagined to give (**Rescue** 80).

Rajaji exhorts the Government employees to safeguard the credentials of a honest administration to save the democratic values in the interest of the common people. The Government servants should be satisfactorily paid and they should

consider carelessness and dishonesty as a shameful act. He states, "Dishonesty must itself be felt as a great shame in the act and before it is discovered" (**Rescue** 79).

The eradication of unemployment cannot be attained by the multiplication of services. It would be rather worse, if we increase futile services, just to employ the unemployed. Even higher wages are permissible, to the earnest and efficient officials, if they have to take care of the unemployed and idle relations at home. But to allow idle hands to run offices with less work will bring more havoc on National economy. Rajaji with a humanistic proclivity to safeguard the National economy from ruin brought by the lackadaisical attitude of the officials admonishes:

> Idleness has now come to be a natural incident of administrative life, where it would be true to say that if one man worked as he should, two others would have little to do. Such employment is worse than unemployment. It would be better to pay a higher wage to officials who support unemployed and idle relatives and dependents at home than to run offices with idle hands doing less than a fair out-turn of work but watching the clock all the afternoon. (**Rescue** 78)

Rajaji laments that the huge waste is, brought by the "arrogant wastefulness and culpable carelessness", of the officialdom managing large schemes and works (**Rescue** 78).

Rajaji inspires every leader to stand for the just cause of the poor, for the glory of the state and not for the popularity of the party. He wishes every aspirant to be a leader, to be a statesman rather than a mere political leader of a party. Rajaji

quotes from Macaulay in his Lays of Ancient Rome, Horatius, to drive home his dream. Rajaji quotes:

> Then none was for a party,
>
> Then all were for the state,
>
> Then the greatman helped the poor
>
> And the poor man loved the great. (**Rescue** 74)

Rajaji corroborates his Democratic humanistic principle of freeing our motherland from all kinds of "pollutions" thus and continues:

> Let me pray that these truthful lines about ancient Rome may inspire our leaders. Let me dream and hope that our motherland will rise, free from the pollutions that have enveloped us and have a true parliamentary democracy to rule it. (**Rescue** 74)

Shouldering the onus of relieving the poor and the downtrodden from poverty and shame, Rajaji champions their cause with a humanistic fervour. The industrial workers have to do a monotonous severe hard work without a joy in it. But it is the duty of the superiors to encourage them and make them feel elated in their industriousness. The humane treatment and the kindness shown to the workers by the industry owners would bring a sea change for the betterment of the country.

In 1933, Rajaji stoutly supported the right of the *Harijans* to enter temples. He propagated Gandhiji's determination to guarantee the temple entry right of the Harijans by one of the earliest acts of Swaraj parliament (**Plighted Word** 1-2). With the equal humanistic concern for the *dalits* in his address to the Nagpur *Harijan*

League, as the Governor General of India, Rajaji assures equality to all citizens of India:

> The era of inferiority as regards your community is over. Gandhiji's work in other respects may still be imperfect, but so far as your question is concerned, what has been done cannot be undone by anybody. You may not all be happy because happiness requires many other things besides equality. *Barabari* has been got and it cannot be lost again, *Kushi* waits for God's grace and for human nature. (**Speeches** 87)

The pain and shame wrought by the age long injustice, unleashed on the Harijans by the people of the past, was eradicated by Gandhiji. But the age long sin and crime perpetuated by the forefathers, by practising "untouchability" in the name of caste, has to be compensated by the posterity, surely even though the time to be taken may be long. Rajaji with the moral integrity of an elderly statesman and the compassion of the Indian Governor General of India assures the impartial rendering of Social Justice to the oppressed *Dalits*, thus:

> It is very difficult to pay back an old and heavy debt. Do not be disappointed because the repayment has been slow. A man's own debt may be paid quickly, but if we have to pay all our grandfather's and great-grandfather's debt, it takes time. That is exactly the situation in regard to the justice to be done to you people. Do not allow your hearts to grow bitter over trifles. Bharat Matha has got you back as equal sons. You need not worry about smaller matters. Do not get

> discouraged because Gandhiji is dead. So far as you are concerned, his work was completed. My best wishes to you. (**Speeches** 87)

Rajaji, calls for a firm decision, to enable the poor workers, to live a dignified happy life, in our democratic India which is the "land of *dharma*". The unison between the middle class and the upper classes hatch a plot of neglecting the poor and allowing them to suffer, with unjust wages and hard labour. The poor also become the victims of the spiralling prices of the essential commodities and the inflation of money. Rajaji, with a Democratic humanistic vision, advises us to establish social justice and human welfare. He clamours for the just and humane treatment of the hapless labourer by all other citizens of India:

> I feel that if the man who produces rice and wheat and maize and the man who weaves and digs and toils, receive the genuine sympathy of people who work in other spheres of life and their toil is properly valued and certain illusions as to the value of intellectual work are set aside, all will be well in this land of *Dharma*. (**Speeches** 106)

Rajaji directs all the Social service organisations run by men and women with good intentions, especially by women, to assume the position of a mother, whose affection is beyond description. In his address to the Guild of Service at Madras, Rajaji as the Governor General of India with a persuasive and humanistic spirit says:

> ...all the social service organisations conducted by well intentioned men and women, specially women, are in the position of the mother. The poor people in the country, the oppressed people and those who

> are at a disadvantage, all these people require not only laws and regulations and monetary help, but a mother's affection in the first place to soothe and secondly to relieve distress. (**Speeches** 43)

Rajaji highlights the role and value of the premier institution named, Loyola College, in Nation Building. He persuades the students with a humanistic concern to make use of the best from such an institution and become dedicated to public service as legislators or leaders with indefatigable patriotism. Rajaji with a Democratic humanistic spirit encourages the youngsters thus:

> Now this is a factory for patriotism pure and simple not patriotism of a vaporous type, but patriotism, if I may say so, of a solid and substantial pattern. Hereafter, if you get a hundred boys out of the college, eighty of them must be fit for public service whether as legislators or leaders of the people. One of them may even have to be ready to become Governor-General. All our education must be so directed as to produce this result. (**Speeches** 58)

The democratic administration should preserve the standard of Education, for it is the supreme asset of a nation. Rajaji advises:

> The standard of the Madras University is very high. Do not let it go down. The pressure of democracy may be brought to bear on anything in the world but not on the standard of education of the university. Do not compel the university to come down to you, you must go up its steps and reach it. (**Speeches** 59)

People's practice of denouncing law and authority should be ended, to safeguard the humanistic values of Democracy. The non-cooperation with the British Government's law and authority and the disregard for them shown by the freedom fighters, was a noble agitation. But according to Rajaji, it has left to us, a habit of disregarding law, even after becoming a free nation. This perilous tendency is aggravated by one's loyalty to the party and not to the State. The deep respect to one's State should be supreme.

Rajaji, a champion of Democratic humanism, declares his vision of a strong India thus in his address delivered in the Hindu University:

> We must restore the unqualified reverence for the State that our ancients cultivated, reverence for law and discipline equivalent to reverence for *Dharma* that was insisted upon in the old days. In fact we want a revival of feudal manners and chivalry but in terms of modern democracy. Reverence for the State is different from attachment to a party. It is more akin to worship than to party loyalty. The state is different from the majority that rules. Reverence for the State is essential. Otherwise India, vast and composed of heterogeneous elements cannot grow strong. (**Speeches** 167)

Thus with a humanistic zeal to unify all Indians, Rajaji reiterates the need for Unity in Diversity. Insisting on the same principle, he says, "You cannot bring unity to the country by imposing uniformity" (Kesavan, **Flap Page**).

In his address to the Cosmopolitan club in Madras, as the Governor General of India, Rajaji reminds every member of his utmost duty, to cultivate unity, among

diverse groups of people, belonging to different religions and cultures. The cosmopolitan clubs should become "Temples of Harmony" with a great mission of nurturing fellowship and harmony among the members. With a democratic humanistic inclination to forge a strong India, with its prime virtue of unity in diversity, Rajaji urges:

> Become friends with one another and do not flock together, according to the proverb, with birds of the same feather, but flock together with birds of different feathers and cultivate harmony that is so necessary for our country. (**Speeches** 61)

Gandhiji points out in **An Autobiography**, the role of the press thus. He says, "The sole aim of journalism should be service" (**Voice of Truth** 313). In the same spirit, Rajaji as the Governor-General of India, in his address to the students of the Maharaja's College, Mysore, with humanistic fervour, delineates the functioning of a democratic government with its cabinet of ministers and official machinery goaded, guided and restrained by the scrupulous newspapers and public opinion. He draws the anology of the bullocks yoked to the carts performing *Ashtavadhanam* or eight feats accomplished simultaneously. The bullocks being the Ministers, the road being the Gandhian principles, the drivers being the newspapers and public opinion, the comparison aptly brings the ideal functioning of a good Democratic Government, with a humane aim of bringing happiness and prosperity to all its citizens. Rajaji thus stresses the sagacious functioning of a Democratic Government:

> Now our future democratic governments will have to emulate the vigilance and the *Ashtavadhanam* of these bullocks, the drivers being the newspapers and public opinion, who have got sharp goads in their hands. If the Ministers keep attending only to the driver and his tricks, they will miss their feet on the road. (**Speeches** 13)

Rajaji requests the Press, to act first to eradicate the evils, in the functioning of the Democratic Government. It is the primary duty of the Press to take the lead always to discuss the problems and to find democratic solutions for them. The Government is elected on the foundation of Democracy. But the pressmen are operating on voluntary basis. To settle a problem the cleverer should take the first step, so the Press should come forward first to settle any issue with the Government, in the interest of the public. Journalism should be raised to the level of an art, so that, their creations are good, pleasant and productive. The journalists should not think that they are only an expanded Legislative Assembly, all the time to wrangle with politics (**Speeches** 75-76). Rajaji thus points out the bounden duty of the journalists in a Democracy:

> The government is elected on the basis of democracy; journalists are there on the basis of voluntary choice. I take it, you are the cleverer of the two and cleverer men must take the first step whenever there is a quarrel. (**Speeches** 77)

When Rajaji was the Home Minister (1950-51) of India, he supported the Press Bill with the democratic conscience to prevent, "the criminals who abuse the printing machine and the right of freedom" (**Towards a responsible Press** 213-14).

The role of the Supreme Court in preserving and safeguarding the humanistic principles of Democracy is essential to establish a good government. The arbitrary action of the State, against its citizens, has to be condemned by the Supreme Court, on the basis of the original Constitution of India. The defence against the violation of the constitution should be endowed with the same potency needed to defend our country, against a foreign aggression (**Dear Reader** 3).

In a democratic system national culture is to be preserved. National culture of our nation is our simple folk's toil, their daily life, their folk songs, folk dances, synthesized into an organic mixture. This national culture should percolate to the roots from the top contrary to the flow of democracy's vitality from the roots to the top. But today the culture at the top is partly English and partly American, looking down upon the indigenous culture, which is the ageless replica of the expressions of the profound faith and life of our teeming millions in India what Gandhi says about democracy as a great institution which is liable to a greater abuse. But the remedy lies not in the negation of it, but in the shortening of the possibility of its abuse to the minimum (**Dear Reader** 12). Rajaji, with a profound sense of a custodian of the Democratic Humanism, delineates the bleak picture of a democracy as a warning to the future India. He picturises:

> A democracy in which the voter is swayed by bribery and is deceived by deceivers and the good people remain at home doing nothing to overcome the evil is not that democracy to which advocates of representative government enthusiastically write eloquent tributes. It is government by bribe-givers for bribe-takers. (**Dear Reader** 14)

In Rajaji's humanistic vision, our Constitution which safeguards the individual citizen, treats him as the "source of authority" and not as a "property of the state". The constitution of 1950, ensures the "freedom of the citizens", "the independence of the judiciary" and the overall authority of the Supreme Court to decide the limits of the exercise of the executive's authority. The interpretation of the articles of the constitution should be always done with an irrevocable guarantee to the rights of the individual citizen and to the minorities against the oppression of the majority rule which is an unavoidable phenomenon in Democracy **(Dear Reader** 25).

The constitution protects and guarantees the rights of its citizens, to live, to work, to earn, to save and to hold property. Though a man can live freely, he can be imprisoned for the violation of law under just trial. Similarly, the property can be acquired by compensating the owner under just fixation of the value. Rajaji poignantly brings out the Democratic humanistic principles of securing and preserving the fundamental rights of the individual against the onslaught of statism by arbitration. If the Supreme Court concluded that the State could not infringe upon the Fundamental Rights of the citizens, then the parliament should not do this, by passing such a law amending the constitution. The noble duty of the Swatantra Party was to safeguard these Fundamental Rights enshrined in the Constitution. Rajaji the democratic humanist declares his Swatantra party's humanistic agenda, to save the citizen's Fundamental Rights thus:

> The Constitution is worthy of this defence by the Swantatra party, although it has no prospect of getting into office. It is a sacred duty

> which the party cannot renounce. It is the party's *Swadharma*. The party should stand like Casablanca and his young son who refused to desert the burning ship, as immortalized in the poem by Felicia Hemans. (**Dear Reader** 28)

Rajaji clarifies that the people should see the Government in the form of the Ministers. The Ministers might have been from different walks of life in the past. They might have been tailors or agriculturists. But, a citizen should see, in him, the Government and not the tailor, or the peasant in him. The idol in a temple may be out of clay or metal but we see the same God in it. Likewise we should see the same Government in him. Rajaji corrects the myopic understanding of the common citizen, about the role and functioning of a Minister in a Democratic Government and thereby reminds the citizen's duty of preserving the sanctity and dignity of the Ministers who form the Democratic Government (**Speeches** 114).

The caste system, a bane to India, is to be abolished by inter-caste marriages to make the Democracy, more humanistic and vibrant to forge into a homogenous India devoid of communalism. Rajaji categorically announces that the caste system which is a bane could be eradicated, only by inter-caste marriage. Rajaji affirms:

> We still live very much in the caste system. I am not pleading for the maintenance of caste divisions. I want inter-marriage among all castes and all religions without distinction. Nothing else will solve our communal and caste difficulties. We may say, down with communalism, but we cannot get rid of it unless we freely encourage intermarriages among all communities. (**Speeches** 122)

Democracy can be effective and meaningful, only when people become patriotic and united. Jealousy and rancour among the members of family will destroy the whole family. Likewise, if the representatives of the states become inimical to one another, how can Democracy function efficaciously for the national welfare? So Rajaji evokes the Democratic humanistic zeal of every citizen of India and clarifies, "If a man's hands and if a man's legs do not work together, he has to be put in an ambulance car and sent to the hospital. If people who form one united Union of States do not work together, they will have to be sent to a hospital" (**Speeches** 132).

Being a chief exponent of Democratic system of administration in Free India, Rajaji has propagated the prime virtues of Democratic humanism such as resourceful decision-making, innate nobility of Indians to safeguard and sustain their franchise and universal suffrage, Individual and Collective Discipline, the prowess to oppose injustice and authoritarian government, the highest respect for the Constitution and the laws, realizing the welfare state, a just distribution of wealth among the poor, people's cooperation, a profound sense of love and equality among citizens, true education of choosing always the good, a healthy party system with a strong opposition, the right to freedom of opinion, impeccable National character, opposing the money power and corruption in elections, pragmatic election mechanics, proscribing company donations to political parties, eradication of the permit and license regime, non-negation of religion in secularism, avoidance of indirect election through electoral colleges, curbing inflation and avoiding heavy taxation, integrity in public expenditure, eradication of unemployment, empathy to

the poorest, justice to the socially disadvantaged victims of casteism, the downtrodden and the labourers, 'Nation building through educational institutions, safeguarding the Unity in Diversity, upholding the sanctity of the press and the supremacy of the Supreme Court, encouraging intercaste marriages as the practicable means to abolish caste system, oneness of the Indian Union and World Citizenship. Such a multifaceted Democratic humanistic paradigm according to Rajaji is to be bolstered by the moralistic humanism which forms the next dimension of Rajaji's humanism, which is scrutinized in the ensuing Chapter.

CHAPTER - IV

MORALISTIC HUMANISM IN RAJAJI

Chapter IV

MORALISTIC HUMANISM IN RAJAJI

The previous Chapter studied the cardinal credentials of the Democratic humanism in the works of Rajaji. This chapter studies the Moralistic humanism in the works of Rajaji as the next dimension of Rajaji's holistic vision of humanism.

Moralistic humanism vindicates the cause of the basic ethical values, which elevate the humanity, from the bestial level, to a disciplined, a dignified and a noble way of living, for others' welfare and happiness, with a profound sense of altruism, in practice. Renaissance Humanism stressed the supreme importance of the dignity of humanity, the moral values of reason responsible for ordering the human lives and segregating them from the animal level and raising them to the ethical level. M. H. Abrams in his **A Glossary of Literary Terms** states, "Many humanists also stressed the need for a rounded development of an individual's diverse powers, physical, mental, artistic and moral as opposed to a merely, technical or specialized kind of training" (116-17).

Dr. Samuel Johnson an eighteenth century Humanist rightly emphasized the objective of the moralistic humanism in his **Life of Milton** reiterating the dictum of Socrates that what one should learn is, "how to do good and avoid evil" (Abrams 117). In the Victorian period, Matthew Arnold defended the significant functioning of humanities, in the realm of General Education, with a strong inherent plea for the perpetuation of the moral and cultural values, in order to distinguish between "our

humanity proper" and "our animality". He advocated these humane studies to maximize the potency of all the human powers which create the beauty and worth of human nature. In 1890s Wilhelm Dithery, the German philosopher propounded a remarkable distinction between the Natural Sciences, which move towards 'a reductic', 'explanation' of the world and the 'human sciences' (the humanities) which operate to comprehend and arrive at an "understanding", "of the full, concrete world of actual experience the lived human world, for example, that is represented in works of literature" (Abrams 117). The new humanists from 1910-33, led by Irving Babbit and Paul Elmer More in America, poignantly pleaded for a return to the classical literature, for their rich dissemination of moral, political and literary values and to more towards a humanistic education based on these imperishable ethical values (Abrams 117).

Likewise, Rajaji the strong votary of truth and *dharma* and fundamentally a true Gandhian in thought and action voices, the profound humanistic concern, for a return to the study of the ancient Indian classics rich in moral, ethical and human values and to open a dialogue with the ancient Indian heritage and ethos. He takes up the noble role of a moral seer, calling back the moral energy of the past, to invigorate the nation and humanity, with its eternal moral principles. His writings and speeches have this strong plea of Moralistic humanism, to exhort the people of India before and after Independence, to walk on the moral path shown by the ancient scriptures, classics and the practicable ethical principles, lived by Gandhi.

Rajaji's expressions gained a spirit of moral authority, since in his life and career, Rajaji always followed, a supreme standard of self control, integrity,

simplicity and austerity. Shankar in his article entitled, "Lone Crusader for Human Rights", says:

> The high moral purpose and intellectual objectivity which lend to his utterances on authority and charm are unmatched in our political life. I am not surprised that often he stands alone amongst the leaders of the country in taking that line. Throughout his career as a leader, or as a Minister, or Chief Minister, he has himself set a high standard of rectitude and impartiality. (Ahluwalia, **Facets** 39)

Rajaji in his writings and speeches, proved to be a true spokesman of the moral principles to be followed by an individual, in his private life and public life. Rajaji's life like Gandhiji's is a telling example of a sterling standard of moral excellence and spiritual conviction. Comparing Rajaji with Gandhi and Nehru as writers, K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar in his article entitled, "As a Man of Letters", writes:

> Again, of the three, while Rajaji shares with Gandhiji his etheric moral tone and Messianic earnestness, he shares with Nehru his global humanistic culture, his wide-ranging scholarship and his feeling for the unexpected. (Ahluwalia, **Facets** 97)

Again comparing Rajaji with Gandhi, as a writer of deep moral and spiritual convictions, Srinivasa Iyengar in his article, entitled, 'As a Man of Letters' states:

> With Gandhiji and Rajaji, the quality of their writing, like the quality of their lives and ministry, derived from the secret reservoirs of their purified and sanctified self and it did not very much matter what they wrote about - for which forum - or in what genre or language. The

> Soul-Stamp was unmistakably there and that made its authentic currency. (Ahluwalia, **Facets** 97)

With such a "sanctified self" Rajaji strove to bring forth the pearls of wisdom from different oceans of different directions, with the primary objective of edifying and moralizing the character and conduct of his reader. He chose the best specimens of the didactic literature and translated them into English and Tamil. They encomprise **The Gita**, **The Upanishads**, **Bhaja Govindam** and the works of Socrates, Marcus Aurelius, Tirumoolar, the Alwars, Avvai and Tiruvalluvar (Ahluwalia, **Facets** 98).

Commenting on such a noble aim of Rajaji's humanistic writings with a definite moral purpose, K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar says, "Rajaji secured the seven oceans of the world's spiritual and secular literature and brought forth, for the edification and enlightenment of his readers, pearls of very great price" (Ahluwalia, **Facets** 98).

Rajaji in his writings and speeches, clamoured for a Renaissance of moral and spiritual humanistic fervour in India and abroad. He combined the political sagacity, the integrity of morality and the purity of spiritualism, to guide the nation during the freedom struggle under his beloved captain, Gandhiji. After the freedom, Rajaji had to start yet another struggle, for the retrieval of the moral and spiritual values of this ancient land and to carry on a second national struggle to free it from the ills of Indian society, bred and unleashed by the Indians against their own brethren. N. A. Palkhivala in his article entitled, "Unmoved, Unshaken, Unscheduled, Unterrified" says, "He has carried the story of Indian independence

forward into a new chapter - freedom from subjugation of Indians by Indians - the full significance of which will be realized only in the years to come" (Ahluwalia, **Facets** 119).

Thus Rajaji with a moral determination and faith in Non-Violence carried on the second struggle of Independence to free the nation from the clutches of all evils generated by nefarious forces.

According to Gandhiji a votary of "Ahimsa" or non-violence should not be misguided by the utilization principle of seeking the welfare of the majority and leaving others in lurch, that are few in number. In Gandhiji's moral and spiritual conviction any good should be for all without leaving anyone. He asserts in **Young India**, dated 9th December 1926:

> A votary of Ahimsa cannot subscribe to the utilization formula (of the greatest good of the greatest number). He will strive for the greatest good of all and die in the attempt to realize the idea. He will therefore, be willing to die, so that the others may live. (**Voice of Truth** 230)

During the freedom struggle, Rajaji was convinced that India would get its freedom, through the prison-gates. The people of India rushed into the prisons, so willingly and passionately, as they rushed into their abodes of rest. Choosing the prison life in priority, to the abominable life of servitude and cooperation with injustice, raises the very option, to the status of true martyrdom (**Jail Diary** 14).

Thus it becomes a moral obligation of every Indian to end this slavery and injustice unleashed by the British, by voluntarily embracing the prison life with

eagerness and affection. As a Moral humanist Rajaji raises a sane conscientious question thus:

> How many who have now accepted imprisonment have done it as a moral necessity arising from their inner revolt against national humiliation and not as a mere device for the embarrassment of the government, with which they hope it will not be able to cope? (**Jail Diary** 14)

Thus Rajaji raises a sane query to kindle every freedom fighter's conscience. Rajaji the Moralistic humanist points out the deterioration in moral values just as the rupee value, has gone down. People have become lethargic and aimless. They have been seeking what is advantageous for themselves always. Right thinking and right action alone can redeem the people from such a moral deterioration. If some become morally strong, that strength will spread like infection. Rajaji says, "Infection of character is as strong as infection of any disease germs. If individuals make up their minds to be good, even a single person can do much more than is imagined" (**Speeches** 181).

Rajaji a committed and potential proponent of the moralistic humanism in theory and practice sums up its virtues to be inculcated and cultivated among the young graduates. He observes that if they absorb all these and turn them into a holistic life, then India could become a great nation of happiness. Rajaji sums up the quintessence of Moralistic humanism as follows:

> Restraint in behaviour and consideration for the feelings of others are what distinguish a man of culture. Be patient and kind always. Do not

eagerness and affection. As a Moral humanist Rajaji raises a sane conscientious question thus:

> How many who have now accepted imprisonment have done it as a moral necessity arising from their inner revolt against national humiliation and not as a mere device for the embarrassment of the government, with which they hope it will not be able to cope? (**Jail Diary** 14)

Thus Rajaji raises a sane query to kindle every freedom fighter's conscience. Rajaji the Moralistic humanist points out the deterioration in moral values just as the rupee value, has gone down. People have become lethargic and aimless. They have been seeking what is advantageous for themselves always. Right thinking and right action alone can redeem the people from such a moral deterioration. If some become morally strong, that strength will spread like infection. Rajaji says, "Infection of character is as strong as infection of any disease germs. If individuals make up their minds to be good, even a single person can do much more than is imagined" (**Speeches** 181).

Rajaji a committed and potential proponent of the moralistic humanism in theory and practice sums up its virtues to be inculcated and cultivated among the young graduates. He observes that if they absorb all these and turn them into a holistic life, then India could become a great nation of happiness. Rajaji sums up the quintessence of Moralistic humanism as follows:

> Restraint in behaviour and consideration for the feelings of others are what distinguish a man of culture. Be patient and kind always. Do not

> give way to jealousy or the desire to boast. Be not rude. Do not always insist on your own way. Do not allow yourself to be irritated or be resentful. Do not rejoice at wrong. Rejoice in the right. Try to bear misfortunes bravely. Show trust in others and have faith that love will prevail. This is what Paul said. This is what Gandhi said. May God bless you. (**Speeches** 70)

Rajaji the Moralistic humanist advises that a nation can be happy only if it is serious about the character of its people and make it a "national policy". With character comes real happiness, without it even the constitution becomes a waste. Moralistic Humanism is to have morality as its bedrock and open the way for eternal happiness through the exemplary character of every citizen shown with commitment to his mission and conviction to morality. As a proponent of liberation of women through education, Rajaji raises the moralistic query, "Do you then doubt the evaluation I make that every girl graduate is worth five boy graduates taking the average of a family to be five?" (**Speeches** 78).

Reiterating the eternal moral vision and mission of India, Rajaji states that India's non-violent struggle to end the British colonial imperialism is over and so now India should step forward to take up the moral and spiritual mission of establishing ourselves as a nation exemplary in the civilization of the world. The responsibility of the largest democracy that is India is determined by its prime place in Asia and its age long intimacy with the west. So it is our moral obligation, to attain world citizenship, following the spiritual dictates of *Dharma*, to consider and acknowledge the whole world as one abode and man as humanity. This feeling of

global unity will purify and bolster our inner moral and spiritual prowess, to solve our national problems amicably. Rajaji in his Convocation Address in the Madras University reiterates such a global oneness of humanity and says, "By thinking of the world and of man as a whole, we shall purify and strengthen ourselves even in respect of internal problems and anxieties" (**Speeches** 64).

Love nurtures mutual affection and hatred breeds contempt and it makes anybody ugly inside and outside. Any person who shirks love and fosters hatred would be having a face which would look ugly in a mirror. Love and affection, pity or sympathy would make the same face look beautiful. If every face is so beautiful the nation's face will be beautiful (**Speeches** 113).

Rajaji stresses the significance and the inevitability of Moralistic humanism in everybody's daily life. Every citizen has to be morally accountable for his/her daily actions. This sense of morality in each individual will strengthen the morality of the nation, which will in turn raise the dignity and status of our country, in the International scenario. Merely chanting the glory of our past will not be enough. If we don't step up the improvement of our character and daily conduct, in Rajaji's contention, perhaps we are showing ingratitude to our forefathers. Our dishonesty deceives our neighbours and our forefathers too. The forts and the cities were built by our ancestors, not for the dishonest people to live in. The Almighty could be satisfied if and only, we corrected ourselves and became truthful and faithful to Him with honest thoughts and deeds. The whole world looks forward for moral guidance from our land of Mahatmaji. We have our obligations to the world humanity, in rendering the moral and spiritual guidance. Rajaji vindicates the cause of moral

values and states, "Our glory in the international world rests on the foundations of our daily lives in this country. We should therefore, be true and good in our daily conduct" (**Speeches** 210).

Rajaji exhorts all the citizens of our nation, to suppress selfishness and be truly loyal servants to promote the Nation's total welfare. We should become people of integrity to do the right and avoid evil and personal gains. He explains this through an analogy. If the nation is a farm and the people are the farmer's children the farmer cannot allow his cattle to eat the crop in his field however it is good for the cattle. Rajaji affirms, "What is wanted is a change of heart, the courage to stand up for the right" (**Speeches** 222).

Such a courageous character is so important to everybody, which in turn makes our whole Nation's character very strong. Rajaji reiterates the importance of character in every person belonging to every walk of life. He affirms the significance of character in his address to the Indian Merchant's Chamber and states, "Just as the rupee has become much less valuable than it was before. We have to correct this lowering of moral values" (**Speeches** 191).

Rajaji's humane insight into the plight of the post-independent India provokes his anticipated moral concern, about the possible violation of the ethical principles, in all walks of life by the Indians. The real "Swaraj" will dawn, only by adopting the perennial moral values in precept and daily practice. Even so early in 1922, Rajaji's deeper moral vision of wider humanistic spirit, foresaw the pathetic future status of Indian *Swaraj* or self rule of moral bleakness.

Rajaji in his **Jail Diary** on 24th January 1922, with the anguish of a humanist and the incisive premonition of a Sage, writes:

> We all ought to know that Swaraj will not at once or, I think even for a long time to come, be better government or greater happiness for the people. Elections and their corruptions, injustice and the power and tyranny of wealth and inefficiency of administration, will make a hell of life as soon as freedom is given to us. Men will look regretfully back to the old regime of comparative justice and efficient, peaceful, more or less honest administration. The only thing gained will be that as a race we will be saved from dishonour and subordination. (43-44)

Thus Rajaji a moralistic humanist accurately forbade the moral turpitude of Free India and exuded a robust optimistic note about India's moral redemption. With a reformist's zeal Rajaji stresses the inculcation of moral values in the minds of the young students. Intellectual and physical training are important but moulding one's character and conduct is more vital in education. The children should be trained, to be affectionate to one another, respecting the other person's religion and language. Rajaji's moral vision anticipates the onus laid on the educationists, to solve these problems arising out of the multiplicity of religions and languages in India. If the children imbibe the moralistic humanism and its values of love for all and service for all, then there will be no ill-will among all sections of people in future India.

Rajaji points out the method of teaching children and says, "The task of teaching them how to read and write and to count and calculate is important, but it

should not make us lose sight of the primary aim of moulding personality in the right way" (**Speeches** 68).

Rajaji construes the basic inclination of every person to blame others rather than blaming oneself for the lapses in one's own life. Each individual is normally interested in other's character and conduct rather than in his own. Each one wants to be impatient only with others and not with him. Everyone wants every other person to be disciplined and not himself to be so. Rajaji blatantly proclaims:

> If you must be impatient, be impatient with yourself. Say to yourself: 'Let me be disciplined.' Don't say to others: 'Be disciplined'. Say to yourself: 'Let me speak the truth'. Don't tell others: 'Do not utter lies'. If you speak the truth, other people will follow. If you are disciplined, other people will copy you. (**Speeches** 149)

True knowledge is distinguished from learning from the books. Learning takes place in colleges. But the synthesis of that learning and its quintessence and its application to distinguish between the right and the wrong is the true knowledge. Rajaji directs the young to be right in choosing always the right and says, "Knowledge enables you to distinguish between right and wrong, between small and great, between the permanent and the impermanent. Knowledge enables you to think rightly" (**Speeches** 150).

In the choice of the right, a person has to nurture a natural repulsion to see wrong things and his character should be so dynamic and genuine that this negation of evil should be in the moral conception of Rajaji, "Character has to be automatic

and expressing itself without your knowing it, not something to be thought out and pretended" (**Speeches** 309).

Rajaji as a humanistic writer was absolutely convinced of the divinity in each human being and so positively he was inclined, to edify and moralise people, in their personal lives and public lives. Mr. K. Santhanam in his article on Rajaji, entitled "His Legacy" says:

> Absolute purity and integrity in public and private life was almost an obsession with him. Even Gandhiji was inclined to be lenient if the person concerned expressed his regret. But Rajaji was inflexible, though he had no difficulty in forgetting differences in policies and ideas so long as the integrity of a person was not in question. (Ahluwalia, **Facets** 126)

It is the profundity of love and affection for his fellow people that drove Rajaji to inspire and guard them, from swerving from the path of morality and *Dharma*. In his personal and public life, Rajaji had to confront much opposition and ostracism from his own Brahmin community, for arranging "inter-caste cosmopolitan dining". R. K. Murthy in his article on, Rajaji entitled "His Love for His Fellow Men" says, "They (Brahmins) delivered the final blow when his father died in 1914. He could not get any Brahmin priest to conduct the religious rituals connected with the cremation" (Ahluwalia, **Facets** 128).

Undeterred, unshaken and unmoved by such counter reprisals and acts of revenge performed by bigotry, Rajaji the Moral humanist, ever outshone, his narrow minded and selfish opponents, by his vigorous enforcement of one's moral

obligations, as a citizen and a man in the universe and the child of the Almighty. Being a true disciple of the Mahatma, in words and deeds, Rajaji's moral vision was ever bolstered, by his poignant faith in God. Gandhi himself had corroborated this facet of Rajaji. K. S. Soundararajan in his article entitled, "A Transcendent Personality", quotes Gandhi's assessment of Rajaji's moral calibre and political wisdom thus:

> Gandhi said, in 1946, 'Rajaji is one of my oldest friends and was known to be the best exponent in word and deed, of all I stand for. That in 1942 he differed from me, I know. All honour for the boldness with which he publicly avowed the difference, he is a great social reformer, never afraid to act according to his belief. His political wisdom and integrity are beyond question. (Ahluwalia, **Facets** 121)

Such a moralistic humanist of political and moral integrity strongly believed that individual's habits collectively form the National character. So he was keen in admonishing the impending catastrophe, in one's life because of one's violation of the moral principles, especially by conforming to hazardous personal habits. Cigarette smoking is an abominable personal habit, one should avoid absolutely. Advertising for encouraging the people to smoke deserves, social condemnation, since the cigarette publicity is one of the worst advertisements defacing the sanctity of Madras. The medical authorities especially the cancer experts in a symposium in Rome had come to a conclusion that, "a number of food additives used in Western Countries as dyes, thickeners, sweeteners, flavourings and preservatives were actually and potentially capable of producing cancer in people" (**Satyam** I: 53).

The statement that the incidence of cancer is reduced by ''filter-tipped'' cigarettes is only misleading. The addicts thus try to justify their own ill habit of smoking, as harmless. The moralistic humanist, Rajaji with utmost concern for the health and hygiene of the youth, in his article, "Truth about Cigarettes" says:

> Get relaxation and enjoyment through honest physical play and mental interests, reading and listening. A great deal can be got that way which will build one up in body and mind and not lay a foundation for incurable ailments. (**Satyam** I: 55)

The serious concern for the welfare of humanity provokes Rajaji, the Moral humanist to expose the mercenery motives of the cigarette firms which "are very closely following the nuclear tactics". They propose to produce "clean cigarettes" says Rajaji, without producing cancer, like nuclear giants promising to produce the "clean bombs" without radio-active hazards. Under the pretext of research conducted to produce "clean cigarettes" and "clean bombs", which is the identical strategy, of both the tobacco and the radio-active poisoners', the poisoning of humanity is successfully carried out (**Satyam**, I: 63-64).

Rajaji, "the unquestioned leader of the prohibition movement in India" in India as called by Jawaharlal Nehru vehemently opposes the sale of liquor for it will destroy the poor and the youth. Opening the licenced liquor and toddy shops is tantamount to the fleecing of the poorest, for enhancing comforts of the classes above poverty line (**Indian Prohibition**, Foreword). The poorest going to these shops has no "family or social restraint" (**Dear Reader** 325).

In the ancient days, the dacoits and highway robbers and burglars, used to pay obeisance, to their deities before performing their 'mission' of looting. Now with the same sentiment, the lottery ticket buyers pray to Tirupathi Venkateswara, after buying two or three lottery tickets to pay a portion of their lucky prize money. They least bother about their immoral sharing of the prize money, collected from lakhs and lakhs of poor hapless people. The irony is God is also requested to bless them in this immoral act. The Government's intention is also immoral, since lottery and gambling schemes only kill the industriousness and work-mindedness of people, who want to live by honest hard work following their conscience and its moral dictates. Rajaji deplores thus in his article "Lotteries", "The various ramifications of this vicious scheme of mopping up poor people's money without appearing to tax them are all immoral and deleterious to real progress" (**Dear Reader** 138).

The moral champion lambasts the immoral proclivity of the Government, to change the whole of India, into "the biggest gambling house" in the world. The degradation of moral values is incalculable and it reduces the whole of Indian mass lottery minded and not work-minded. Rajaji reiterates the gravity of the moral degradation of humanistic values thus:

> One crore or two crores netted through these raffles are obtained at a great price. The moral deterioration caused by the continuous presentation of baits in the shape of big prizes cannot be evaluated except by those who hope against hope for a spirit of hard work to

> prevail among the people of India as the only way to salvation from Bankruptcy. (**Dear Reader** 138)

It is alarming and abusive of all moral values, to encourage pornography, in the name of literature. Rajaji, the morally sensitive and sensible humanist, raises the alarm of such a moral deterioration, in the literary world in the USA. It pains him that even leading literary reviewers hail such blatant pornography as some thing "charming, simple and straight forward". Rajaji registers his strong protest against pornography in his article entitled, "Western Pornography":

> One cannot fail to see the full measure of the danger and the evil. The reviewer's attempt at divorce between the problem of immoral stimulation and that of literary standards is perhaps more dangerous for society than pornography by itself if frowned upon by literary critics. (**Satyam** III: 483-84)

Rajaji, severely condemns, such a derogatory and debased attitude of hailing the pornography, as part of literary reviews. He says that such an immoral inclination, revealed in reading and reviewing pornography would invite, only the ire of God, as it had fallen upon Sodom and Gomorrah if, "We pass the limit of Divine tolerance". He also warns that the proclivity, towards the praise of pornography, would be perilous to the patriotic stamina of our country. Rajaji in his article entitled, "Western Pornography" states:

> All absorbing lusts and passions necessarily displace and undermine the energy needed for patriotic effort. Brahmacharya is the fountain of vitality for nations as of individuals. Pornography is, therefore,

> a terrible fifth column endangering national security, even if it be not an evil by neo-moral tests. Something should be done to bring more wisdom to bear on the issue and bring this increasing misuse of freedom to a stop. (**Satyam** II: 485)

Rajaji's vision of Moralistic humanism identifies the immorality in supplying the contraceptives to the people, with an intention to arrest the growing population, in order to meet the food production. The use of contraceptives by the well off, may offer them "greater licence" in violating morality. Especially the youth will be the greater victims to this immoral evil practice of using the contraceptives. Rajaji issues the warning against the immorality in using the contraceptives in his article "Use of Contraceptives":

> It is folly to imagine that the natural growth of families, numbering over eight crores, can be controlled by the distribution of a few thousand contraceptives largely bought by those who are well off and who desire more luxuries and greater licence. We shall be spreading, sure enough, immorality among the lower age groups. We shall not be able that way to touch the population problem. (**Satyam** I: 435)

It is construed that only the moral values of self-discipline and self-control will pave the humanistic and moralistic ways of mitigating the population problem. In this 21st century, the use of the contraceptives may be justified to prevent AIDS infection but still the use of condoms involves a moral question.

It is wrongly concluded that population increase could be checked by using contraceptives like loops and oral pills. The moral questions raised by Rajaji against

the use of contraceptives are, poignant and valid. Food production needs urgent attention but contraception needs a much longer time, to see the aftermath results of its use on masses. Rajaji draws the implication of the value of human population in the simple productivity of physical labour and the readiness of such a massive population for the defence of the country. Rajaji cites the example of China with its huge population. He remarks, "Nations fear and respect China not because of any success of the Chinese in family planning but on account of its population" (**Dear Reader** 261).

So India has to be proud of being a nation of the second massive population and should plan for the proper use of its vast natural resources, to redouble its food production. Rajaji quotes Pope's saying from Vatican Press Bulletin, thus:

> According to the Vatican Press Bulletin, the Holy Father said that India has a veritable wealth in its population and that the country with proper utilization of its resources could feed a population double the number that it now has. (**Dear Reader** 261)

The Pope does not believe in the, "myth of population explosion which can only be held back by the practice of contraception", according to a note in *Observatore Romano*. The Pope has very well recognized the rapidity, in the growth of world's population. But there is also a veritable biological, sociological and historical evidence that disclosed that there were multiple factors determined to harness the population growth on a "natural control" (**Dear Reader** 261).

Rajaji the moralistic humanist sees a growing tendency among people especially among women that "Sex is an unwanted, unimportant accident" so a

disregard for the sex distinction has set into jeopardize the basic unit of civilization called family. The universal phenomenon of true love generated by the distinction of sex cannot be disregarded and this makes the world a place of heavenly bliss. Rajaji alerts humanity of its moral obligation to reserve a great regard for sex distinctions in his article entitled, "Disregarding Sex Distinctions":

> It is a colossal mistake to build on a negation of what is a fact, to disregard the distinction of sex, ignore the coordinate co-existence of male and female in the world and to seek to make a more satisfactory world than what God intended, by levelling down in daily life the great difference between man and woman and their complementary virtues, capacities, functions and talents and substitute competition, jealousy and hatred where every element had been shaped by nature for happiness and mutual supplement. (**Satyam** II: 860)

But it is also dangerous to introduce sex education at a very early stage of a child's academic pursuit. So Rajaji vehemently opposed the very idea of including Sex education for children, for they have to wait for some more years, to know it in proper moral and spiritual perspectives. He raises the pertinent questions about the zeal for introducing Sex education, after enumerating the failures of humanity on many fronts. He raises his sane queries in his article entitled, "Education" to eschew sex education:

> We have lost faith in progress and civilization thanks to the pollution of air and water and destruction of vegetation. We have lost the confidence that governments will fulfil their obligations as promised

> and as a result international negotiations and treaties have lost their old values. We have lost the sense of joy in life, thanks to the H-Bomb and the receding of a world Government. Must we divorce love and romance from sex and convert it into a frightening anatomical affair for children? Must we answer every question of children instead of asking them to wait for some years? (**Dear Reader** 233).

Rajaji the moralistic humanist, opposes on moral grounds, the transplantation of the test-tube impregnated ovum into the "womb of a sterile woman" to make her a mother of a child. Under the pretexts of service to sterile women and service to humanity, in the moral view of Rajaji, the modern scientists infringe upon the moral law. So Rajaji advises to go for adoption of children, from the kith and kin. If adoption is impossible within the close family circles, that can be done from the realm of poor orphan children. Rajaji puts forth this humanistic appeal in his article "Relief for Sterility" thus:

> Adoption by choice, open and public, sanctified by religious rites and fostering love, is far superior certainly and more enlightened and more moral than the concealed adulteries done at the instance of the technological biologist in his laboratory and sold to you. (**Satyam** II: 877)

Broader moral vision and more benevolence can direct one to go for such an adoption subjugating oneself to God's will. Rajaji continues to state:

> Certainly it is better than this filthy process called artificial insemination or test-tube fertilization. Better still is acceptance of

> God's will and making the wisest use of your capacity for affection and your wealth when you have no child of your own to shower it upon. And there is a wide world of hungry poor children waiting for that love and that material assistance which, by reason of childlessness, you can easily afford to give. (**Satyam** II: 877)

Thus Rajaji urges us to look upon adoption as God's direction of showering love and affection on poor children too.

Rajaji is seriously perturbed, by the triggering of degradation of moral integrity, among the people, by the massive use of contraception methods. Popularized by the Government's "Family Planning Programme", Rajaji anticipates this deterioration in character and conduct and laments:

> Immoral practices and a diminution of self control grow out of the use of contraceptives quicker than any reduction of population ensuing there from. These practices undermine the character of the people in a serious degree. (**Dear Reader** 261)

Rajaji had a marathon talk with the Family Planning Minister Dr. Chandrasekar and said, "I told him that he and his contraceptive programme were the big enemies of morality in India" (**Dear Reader** 263).

Rajaji the moralistic humanist advocates that, before any drastic policy like massive contraception is taken, it is always better to listen to Mahatma Gandhi's moral views, against contraception. Rajaji's concepts of humanism always attempt to find a lasting solution to any human predicament only through strong moral and spiritual principles and not through any shortcut method proposed by vote

mongering political mercenaries. Rajaji affirms his faith in Gandhian principles and says, "Mahatma Gandhi was consistently against these contraceptive activities. He was as fiercely against them as Dr. Chandrasekar is fond of them" (**Dear Reader** 266).

According to Rajaji's premonition, the contraceptive pills and sterilization, besides reducing the poor illiterate people to the plight of guinea pigs, have seriously weakened the moral integrity of the society and increased the incidence of the pre-marital sexual relations. With a profound moralistic and humanistic consideration, Rajaji lambasts the Government's small family bonus and rewards, aimed at the exploitation of the utter poverty of the illiterate hapless poor people of country. Instead of such a planned exploitation, a long range plan of military training for millions of young men and women, pledging to maintain celibacy till 35 years of age, will make the young self-reliant, disciplined, courageous and patriotic to defend our nation, when the occasion demands in future (**Dear Reader** 268-69).

India being a land of a massive labour force, the labourers' welfare should be the prime concern of the administration. According to Rajaji, nothing can grow by itself and there should be a labour behind every growth. Even though Alladin had a lamp which could supply anything needed, a hard rubbing thereby demanded a labour of Alladin. Similarly the hard work of the people alone can make a country grow and become great. In this context, Rajaji the moralistic humanist, reserves the first respect to the labourers, who work with their bodies. The intellectuals should consider the physical labourers as superiors to them and honour them for they are

doing a routine and unhappy task every day. With a moral kindness for human dignity and human labour, Rajaji states:

> Those who work with their bodies must be respected as the first citizens of the state. Those who work with their brains must stand behind and look upon those who work with their bodies as superior to them. ...Those who do work with their intellect are already paid for it by the joy that they get out of it. We must pay, recompense, encourage and respect those who do unpleasant work. (**Speeches** 119)

Thus Rajaji brings out his conscientious concern for the labourers. Akin to this the tragic plight of the slum dwellers is an eye sore.

Rajaji's moral vision tends to find a lasting solution for the slum-dwellers and their agony. Most of the slum dwellers work as servants in the houses of the middle class or upper class people in the city. If in moral principle an obligation is laid on the big house dwellers, to build out-houses for their servants, the servants will not be forced to find their habitation in slums. Rajaji points out the humanistic and moralistic obligation, on the part of the employers and owners of the big houses thus in his article entitled "Slums":

> The solution in my opinion consists in the acceptance in principle of laying an obligation on all occupants of big houses and attached grounds in the cities to build out-houses which they should place at the disposal of the servants they employ and who are all now forced to find accommodation in slums. (**Dear Reader** 256)

Rajaji, the moralistic humanist, raises a serious objection to the slogan "slum clearance" for "clearance" is a wrong word used without any concern for the poor, their human feelings and human needs. The city people have failed in their moral responsibility, to look after the basic needs of habitation of the poor people they engage to work for them. Rajaji champions the cause of the slum dwellers and stresses, "Slum clearance is an easy slogan, but clearance is a wrong word. We must think out the problem in terms of human needs and feelings" (**Dear Reader** 257).

Likewise, the poor wretched menial workers like scavengers, in a municipal ward, should be given a careful and special treatment by the corporation by providing them separate, safeguarded, dignified clean housing. If adequate work is not found for the rural mass then new slums will spring by their influx into the cities to earn their livelihood. The remedy is to provide jobs by "open air public works" (**Dear Reader** 260) as Rajaji terms it. This includes massive projects for expanding roads communication, providing drinking water, drainage systems, repairing tanks and silting reservoirs. Another remedy would be establishing industrial sectors along the country sides, to enable the villagers to get their work in their proximity. This will prevent them to go to cities and live in unhealthy and unhygienic slums subjected to the perils of poverty. Rajaji cautions:

> This and the dispersal of industrial centres throughout the countryside so as to create opportunities for earning good wages without crowding the cities and towns are the only remedy. Symptomatic treatment by replacing the slums by better houses will be an unending and waste fulfilment process. (**Dear Reader** 260)

Rajaji condemns the uncivilized, crude, inhuman practice, of hanging the prisoner without any prior notice. The prisoner condemned to death was not given adequate time, to prepare himself to fulfil his moral and spiritual obligations of purifying his soul, by prayer to God. Suddenly he was taken to the gallows and hanged. Even that news was not given to his family members. At last his unclaimed body was sent to a medical college for dissection. Rajaji was much tormented over this moral and spiritual lapse of the bureaucracy. He lampoons the inhuman practice of the Jail authorities and champions the human cause of the prisoners as he states, "Among the barbarities of the jail practices is one, which ought to be reformed at once - that of hanging men without giving them any notice. The poor fellow does not know when he will be taken away" (**Jail Diary** 72-73).

Rajaji is much concerned about the future of mankind and its tantalizing security in the hands of Nuclear Powers. Science attempts to disclose the secrecy of nature by physical and biological investigations. But they always end up with a constant mystery often confounding even the investigators. Though the scientists leave it unnamed, the people of faith called it God. But to deny such an inscrutable presence of God may lead to "scientism" which is perilous. Against such a violation of moral values in his article, "Science and Nuclear", Rajaji with a humanistic zeal warns:

> The assumption however that modern man may find all his values in science, to the exclusion of any other guideline, is a different and erroneous concept to which the name of scientism may be given.

> Science is knowledge, but scientism is a dogmatic obsession. (**Dear Reader** 211)

Rationalism proves to be a "blind alley", which leads upto a point straight, but does not lead further. Faith starts to guide us, as it has been doing down the ages. Science has given this nuclear bomb to humanity and besides being a constant source of poisoning the atmosphere, it has proved to be a colossal threat to all the resources meant for welfare schemes.

When Gandhiji expresses his views on the nuclear bomb, he succinctly exposes its decimating dynamism at the hands of science. In **Harijan**, dated 29th September 1946, Gandhi condemns, "I regard the employment of the atom bomb for the wholesale destruction of men, women and children as the most diabolical use of science" (**Voice of Truth** 255).

Thus the nuclear bomb and its explosion will only pollute the atmosphere, by its radioactivity and end in mass annihilation of humanity. Rajaji the moral humanist raises ethical questions against the nuclear race in which India participates ruining its own economy. Rajaji raises humanistic ethical queries in his article, "Science and Nuclear", thus:

> If we proceed in the direction suggested by Dr. Vikram Sarabhai, what shall we do with the nuclear weapons we produce? Shall we run a nuclear race with neighbouring or distant nuclear powers? Can we get healthy drinking water by means of them for our lakhs of villages? Shall we be able to give a drainage system to these villages through these weapons, or good metalled cart roads connecting the villages

> with one another and their market towns, or good clean houses to live
> in? (**Dear Reader** 215).

The answer elicited is certainly negative, jeopardizing the common man's security, dignity and freedom.

Rajaji points out that at the global level, according to Ralph Lapp, an atomic scientist, a member of the Manhattan project that liquidated Hiroshima and Nagasaki, a nuclear war would not last more than two nights for the whole of humanity; with its glorious civilization would perish absolutely within 48 hours. So, Rajaji the Moralistic humanist demands for a total cessation of all nuclear test explosions. He demands, "The government and all the officials including the defence services realize the grounds, both moral and other, which justify our demand that the nuclear test explosions should cease" (**Dear Reader** 221).

In Education, primary stress should be on the religious and moral dimensions, according to Rajaji, the moralistic humanist. He corroborates this, by quoting, order of priorities of education, prescribed to his scholar by the famous Headmaster of Rugby, Thomas Arnold. Rajaji quotes the Headmaster's moral dictum thus, to regulate the Nuclear Powers. He says, "What one must look for here is first, religious and moral principles; secondly, gentlemanly conduct, thirdly intellectual ability" (**Dear Reader** 229).

Education is a field where all changes should be carefully introduced, with much caution and moral responsibility, since it involves generations aplenty. Rajaji reiterates the idea of the Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University, that any change should be introduced through "a process of evolution" (**Dear Reader** 211).

Such a statement stems out of, "the wisdom of experience and love of motherland and its youth" (**Dear Reader** 231). All sorts of learning process should aim at developing a person's personality. If it is not taken care of then learning becomes futile in every sense. Rajaji says, "All learning should develop personality. Otherwise it is worthless in every sense" (**Speeches** 253).

Besides education's aim of promoting a holistic development, Gandhiji propounded the fusion of "craft, art, health and education" into one scheme. Gandhi proposes his scheme of basic education thus in Harijan, dated 31st July 1937:

> Literacy in itself is no education. I would therefore begin the child's education by teaching it a useful handicraft and enabling it to produce from the moment it begins its training. Thus every school can be self-supporting, the condition being that the State takes over the manufacture of these schools. (**Voice of Truth** 507)

Rajaji sincerely felt for the need of such a scheme in Education through which all students, can find sufficient time out of school hours, to learn handicrafts in vogue in their area or their family handicrafts or the agricultural work. The Gandhian concept of "Useful manual labour, intelligently performed" was envisaged in **Harijan**, dated 8th September 1946 (**Voice of Truth** 504) as the best means, to develop the intellect-inspired Rajaji's scheme, on moral grounds. Following this Gandhian concept, Rajaji explains the moral principles of Gandhian vision of work centred learning thus:

> The essence of a scheme I suggest is that school hours should be reduced and the boys directed to participate in local handicrafts out of

> school hours and if there was no facility for this the pupil should be engaged in the family handicraft or in agricultural work. (**Dear Reader** 233)

Rajaji, the moralistic humanist, being much concerned about the role of modern teachers and their attitude towards their duty and to their life admonishes the modern teachers of having a common threat to their integrity that is to become "popular" and "Powerful". Rajaji a custodian of the moralistic humanism is much worried about this negative factor, in the architects of society and comments:

> These new teachers have an inner enemy, whom they must overcome, the desire to become 'famous' and powerful. Buddha gave up his princely position and influence to become a spiritual teacher of men. He was moved by an irresistible impulse to give up power and impart his convictions to others. The reverse position, viz., the desire of good men to become 'famous' through the modern methods of publicity is something to be warned against. The desire to become famous will not help the teachers to achieve success. Fame is the unsubstantial shadow of good work. Let it run after the teachers. Let not the teachers run after the shadow. (**Dear Reader** 235)

Thus the teachers have to be selfless and committed to their noble vocation. Among the students sex abuse, ragging, intimidating supervisors by violence should be curbed by stringent measure, otherwise it will lead to the destabilization of good administration and discipline. According to Rajaji, politics can be listened to and understood by students, but the students should never be the supporters and the

dynamic workers of any particular political party. The student unions may form the forums to debate for and against certain ideologies and policies, but should not become the active units of political parties (**Dear Reader** 237).

Rajaji's humanistic vision realises on the moral grounds the deeper dissensions caused between the caste Hindus and the *Harijans*, by the reservations and their extension for another term. If the social progress of the *Harijans* and the total removal of the inhuman practice of "untouchability" have to be achieved they can be accomplished genuinely only by, "a plan of equality and virile competition", or "hard work in a hard contest" rather than by concessions. The extension of such legislative reservations would result in keeping the "untouchability" alive rather than eradicating it. Such a political reservation will help only certain political leaders to attain political portfolios and the whole lot of the *harijan* community could not change. Rajaji admonishes:

> If the aim is to help certain leaders to attain political positions, these reservations can serve that purpose. But if our object is social integration, free and equal competition in education and occupation is the only way. (**Dear Reader** 239)

But as a check and balance, a concerted effort should be sincerely taken up with humanistic and moralistic convictions, that the expenditure should be shouldered by the whole society, to train the backward communities and *harijans* in general and technical education, to enable them to come up socially, politically or economically (**Dear Reader** 239).

Ceylon Government has discriminated against the 8,00,000, descendants of Indian origin whose forefathers had laboured on the plantations of Ceylon and made them the real wealth of the nation. It is injustice coupled with ingratitude in depriving; these people their legitimate citizenship of Ceylon. They are denied franchise and employment and forced to flee to India, where they don't have any belonging. Rajaji the champion of Moralistic Humanism raises this moral issue on behalf of these hapless people of Indian origin and calls for an international enquiry to stop this "near-genocide policy" in Ceylon. Rajaji calls for the United Nation's action to stop such a cruel measure of eviction, violating all humanistic values. Rajaji says:

> It is true the Sinhalese language raises a fair presumption of Ceylon citizenship. But it is equally obviously true that these Ceylon plantations employed Tamil labour for more than three generations and there are a million people belonging to those families now in Ceylon who have no Indian citizenship. This cruel tyranny of refusing citizenship to a million people wanting it should end if the UN has any influence over Ceylon. (**Dear Reader** 295)

Yoga is a moral and spiritual discipline according to Rajaji. Commoners understand yoga as a medium of enhancing one's physical fitness. But Yoga is more than that since it is a moral and spiritual discipline at first. Rajaji explains, "Yoga is a moral and religious discipline, not a physical improvement device. We may benefit physically too, by moral and religious discipline. But the main aim is moral not physical" (**Dear Reader** 360-61).

Breeding an innocent animal and to kill it for eating, kills the sense of compassion with it. It is a "breach of trust" according to Rajaji's moral and spiritual vision. Vegetarianism prevents, killing of animals, besides preserving the love for the innocent animals. His moralistic and humanistic compassion for animals comes to the fore as he declares:

> Vegetarianism issues out of the principle of compassion. We should avoid, personally or indirectly, causing cruelty to animals which feel pain and call for tenderness and compassion as much as human beings who cannot help themselves to do. (**Dear Reader** 314)

The distinction between public speeches and private conversation should be wiped off, since the very same discipline maintained in a public speech should also be conformed to, in the private conversation. Since every private conversation goes into the making of a national character Rajaji the moral visionary states with firmness, "Every little drop of water makes together the waves of the sea. In the same manner, every whisper, every conversation, every talk in private, all these go together to make national life. Let us purify our national life" (**Speeches** 62).

According to Rajaji Science does not teach science alone. It brings out an attitudinal transformation for goodness in a person. It instils the moral values of obedience to principles, agility, a sense of right and accurate judgement in the students of science. Rajaji culls out these moral values imparted by the study of science and delivers in his speech at Doon School:

> This is a very fine school. I was impressed at the amount of science taught in this school. It is wrong to think that science teaches only

> science. Science brings about a change in the whole attitude of the boys. It brings about correct judgement, alertness and obedience to laws. In fact, science is an excellent culture medium for boys and girls. (**Speeches** 111)

Thus Science imparts the ethical values and helps to shape them. Rajaji stresses the growth of more humane concern among the educated and the elite in India. They should understand and love the common folk, their languages, their manners, their religion. Such a tolerance, understanding and love alone could forge into patriotism. They should avoid any apathy to work for common purposes and try to respect and love good values in the ancient and the modern factors, in all walks of life. Rajaji the humanist discloses his moral and spiritual vision as he says, "I love the great religion of the mass of our people and all its splendid variations that make no differences but form a beautiful and wise whole" (**Dear Reader** 238).

Thus with a pragmatic understanding of the calls of Modernity and the yearnings of the past Indian ethos Rajaji presents his moralistic humanism for the betterment of humanity.

Rajaji brings out the significance of work and service as the explication of Moralistic humanism in practice. If work brings progress, then welfare service fetches happiness. Idleness is the worst evil threatening, all progress in India. It is the moral obligation of any person in any duty to work unceasingly and devotedly as our patriotic mission to our country. Honesty should be the moral code conducting each one to perform his duty in his daily life. Honesty coupled with the respect and love for all will generate goodwill and eradicate communal disharmony.

The young graduates should be "the moral and cultural army of India", promoting India's cultural status to greater heights in the world (**Speeches** 64-65).

Rajaji preaches restraint even to the military trainees, in Indian Military Academy as the basis, to be morally upright. Soldiers are the best moral agents of peace and love, for a country, because the training and the discipline they attain, transform them into, votaries of peace and love. They are equipped with arms to fight, but also endowed with the restraint not to misuse them. Like a cobra which has fangs inside, the military has arms inside. Unless and until the need arises, the cobra keeps cool and never bites. Similarly the military with all its potency should keep cool and poised, for the strong alone is capable of restraining himself (**Speeches** 109).

Switching the loyalty to another political party by defection becomes a kind of deception of the ethical obligations of a member, in the view of Rajaji, the Moral humanist. The defectors may give umpteen numbers of reasons for their defection. But it belies altruism. Usually their aims in defecting are selfish and corruptive. Rajaji chastises such a shameful attitude and proposes an unflinching moral and spiritual conviction, to avoid evil and to fight against the wrong, even if a member becomes a lone fighter. Power hunting is not politics, but fighting against the immoral corruptive forces is true politics. Rajaji lampoons the selfish and immoral defection as a moral humanist, in his article entitled "Deflections":

> One's duty is to do what conscience and detachment dictate and to retain equanimity under success or failure. This is true politics. Hunting for some kind of power or influence in devious ways is to sell

> oneself to the Devil, to use the language of the Semitic Creeds. The Devil is within ourselves, according to the Gitacharya. (**Dear Reader** 53)

Heavy taxation is detestable and it breeds only unemployment, according to Rajaji. People do not detest taxation itself, but they certainly hold objection to undue harassments and pettiness, they meet from the rude officials. Rajaji the moralistic humanist, vehemently protests against such callousness of the officials as he says:

> Peasants carrying head-loads or driving carts laden with sugarcane, which is not subject to sales tax, are stopped and asked to produce impossible forms and certificates and the inevitable 'tip' or bribe follows. Self-respect is punished heavily by turning the peasant's back on failure to accommodate the tip-taker. (**Dear Reader** 151-152)

Such a mockery of morality and democracy is staged, on the innocence of the poor peasants, who are the backbone of the Indian agricultural economy. Rajaji demands a basic understanding of the practice of the Moralistic humanism by all, to save the noble credentials, of our sacred Democracy. He states, "At the bottom of it all is the essential need for integrity and mutual respect between officials and citizens. Without these fundamentals, democracy becomes an impracticable thing or a make-believe" (**Dear Reader** 152). Thus bureaucracy should be curtailed and at last curbed by the "integrity" of the officials.

Instead of having a curriculum inclusive of moral education, in schools and colleges, it is better that we have men and women of exemplary character and

conduct, in these institutions. The activities and programmes can be arranged to infuse the noble moral values in the young minds. The right choice of teachers of good character with merit will enable the students to come into contact with them, daily in their impressionable years of youth, so that they could emulate their masters and superiors in their daily commitments. If it is done on automatic attachment to truth, honesty and discipline will be imbibed by the students. There will be a natural repulsion of falsehood in any form. Rajaji advocates this as he says:

> The need for cleanliness of mind is as great as, if not greater than, physical sanitation and we must aim at spreading this habit of cleanliness of mind as a part of enlightened statecraft as essential as physical public hygiene which is the concern of Health Ministries. (**Speeches** 203)

The moralistic humanism of Rajaji, the visionary, looks deeper into the hardships of the workers, who wallow in monotony, misery and poverty. The work in a factory is hard and tiresome without any joy. So with a human attachment the workers deserve everybody's sympathy and kindness. Rajaji directs the rich owners of the factories to show human concern to their workers. According to Rajaji, a worker who cleverly employs his fingers in a work is a poor *Vedantin* or philosopher. Empathetically the speaker identifies himself with poor and calls himself a poor man who could feel their misery. Rajaji the humanist states:

> The poorest man in the village is a *Vedantin*. He is a good man. He is a philosopher and he is clever with his fingers. There is a great talent and scientific capacity in our country. Do not be downhearted. Have

> trust in the government because you know they are all good men, men who have a heart and who love the country and who want the industry to grow. (**Speeches** 191-92)

With moral boldness, the government should stop giving permits and licences, and liberate trade and industry, from the clutches of its officers. Rajaji states that the moral atmosphere in the political realm can be cleansed, only when the Permit-Licence-Raj is brought to an end. If such a "moral atmosphere" is created, then Gandhiji's dream of India as a land of communal amity will become a reality.

Gandhi's life is a saga of a successful mission of establishing the communal amity, by the ultimate sacrifice of his own life. Gandhi insisted with more concern on the moral condition, of the people. Other factors were only secondary to him. Rajaji as the Moralistic humanist, poignantly expresses the same concern for the moral values, like mutual love and mutual trust, which we should pervade the fibres of our hearts. Rajaji pleads for such a moralistic humanism and its result of communal amity, mutual love and peace. Rajaji says, "Gandhiji was most concerned not about prices but about the moral condition of our people" (**Speeches** 199).

If such a top priority is given by the people to their moral status then the Hindu-Muslim harmony will be no more a dream. Even proposing a formula on partition Rajaji was so prophetic in vision to achieve reconciliation between the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League in 1943. The "Rajaji

formula" was endowed with a noble aim of achieving Hindu-Muslim harmony and it, "formed the basis" of the Gandhi-Jinnah talks for partition (**kesavan** 34).

Rajaji states that Hindus and Muslims are brothers and sisters, whose home is India. The Muslims should treat India their own home and their own property. They are the children of this land, who should ask for the complete love of the parents and not for toleration. Likewise the Hindus in Pakistan should be treated as the "younger children" of it. The children of a State, is not in a status of subjugation or subordination. Rather, it is a privilege and a prerogative of the baby to have its desires "predominate the governance of the house". Rajaji with an utmost moralistic humanism of communal harmony states:

> My Muslim brothers and sisters do not ask for justice. Do not ask for toleration. This is your own country. Treat it as your own home and your own property... Would you be happy if the children of a family ask for toleration at the hands of the parents? They must ask for the parent's entire love and what you owe to and what you can demand of this country. (**Speeches** 193-94)

Affectionately calling the Muslim brothers and sisters of India the youngest children of a family, Rajaji the humanist continues to remind the moral responsibility of the Governments of India and Pakistan and the basic privileges of the Muslims in India and the Hindus in Pakistan. He clarifies, "The child is the Governor of the house. The wishes of the baby predominate the governance of the house" (**Speeches** 194).

To champion and vindicate the causes of the Moralistic humanism, Rajaji chooses to translate selected couplets from Book I & II of Tiruvalluvar's **Tirukkural**, a monumental poetic composition, prescribing exemplary moral and spiritual code of life, based on a humane and practical approach. Its moral teaching holds good to the whole of humanity, transcending the limitations of Time and Space. Mahatma Gandhiji and Vinobaji imbibed their moral and spiritual strength, from their deep scrutiny of the couplets of **Tirukkural**. K. M. Munshi in his foreword writes:

> In its essence **Tirukkural** is a treatise par excellence on the art of living. Tiruvalluvar, the author, diagnoses the intricacies of human nature with such penetrating insight, perfect mastery and consummate skill absorbing the most subtle concepts of modern psychology, that one is left wondering at his sweep and depth. His prescriptions, leavened by godliness, ethics, morality and humaneness are sagacious and practical to the core. They cut across castes, creeds, climes and ages and have a freshness which makes one feel as if they are meant for the present times. (**Kural** ix)

Rajaji with a lofty moralistic objective of addressing the problems and intricacies of human life provided the practical solutions offered by Tiruvalluvar. With the prime inclination to find the righteous way of living abiding by the cardinal principles of morality, Rajaji the moralistic humanist renders this translation of the selected couplets from Book I & II of **Tirukkural**. Rajaji in his

preface reveals his humanistic concern of providing a compendium of practicable moral values to humanity as rendered by Tiruvalluvar. Rajaji comments:

> Tiruvalluvar was one of those rare and great men whose Catholic spirit rose above all denominations and whose vision was not clouded by dogma or prejudice of any kind. His teachings elude classification on any denominational basis. Tiruvalluvar's approach to moral doctrine is marked by a very thorough knowledge of human psychology and a desire to help imperfect men with practical hints in the struggle against evil. Throughout we can see how the poet brings everything down to the level of practicality without losing hold of the ideal. (**Kural**, Preface xi)

Rajaji's choice of the couplets, projects his moralistic and humanistic proclivity to commit humanity to the eternal moral and spiritual principles and thereby bringing bliss, meaning and dignity to human life. *Dharma* is the eternal fundamental moral and spiritual law ever to be followed by humanity, all times, in all places and in all events of life. If anybody swerves from the path of *Dharma* to attain selfish ends, perpetual doom will be the result. Thus Rajaji proceeds to present the explication of Tiruvalluvar's immortal moral guidance to humanity.

Rajaji translates the moralistic paradigm of Tiruvalluvar to stress the inevitability of *Dharma* the eternal divine law in the regulation of human character and conduct. He translates, "There is no greater wealth one can acquire than *Dharma* and no misfortune greater than the forgetting of it" (**Kural** 1).

Every human being is endowed with divinity in him, which should be kept glowing, so that it prevents evil thoughts and preserves the mind pure, in state. Other than this, all the attempts to lead a life of purity, will be only mere "sound and show". Tiruvalluvar emphasizes this purity of mind as the primary moralistic obligation of everybody. Rajaji states, "Keep the mind free from evil thoughts. This is the whole of *Dharma*. The rest is only of the nature of sound and show" (**Kural** 2).

The householder, who leads the noble life with good character and conduct, in this world will become deified and through this apotheosis, he will be at par with God in Heaven. Rajaji expresses this dictum of Valluvar and explains, "He who leads his life in this world as he should, ranks with the gods in heaven" (**Kural** 4).

A woman's best guard is her purity of life, when compared with all other measures implemented to guard her chastity. Rajaji states Tiruvalluvar's moralistic and humanistic idea about the chastity of a woman, and asks, "Of what use is that purity which is brought about by physical restrictions and isolation to which women are subjected? Their own sense of a pure life is the best watch" (**Kural** 6).

The noble father is always obliged to conform to his moral duty of bringing up his son, educate well, so that he secures place of honour, among other cultured men in the society. The son's gratitude should be shown in becoming a noble man, so that others praise his father as the most fortunate one, to beget such a great son of virtues and knowledge. Rajaji translates Valluvar's dictum on these mutual moral commitments of an ideal father and an ideal son, and says, "The best inheritance

that a father can provide for his son is an education that will fit him to take an honoured place among cultured men" (**Kural** 6-7).

Love is the sustaining source of the soul as the spine is supportive of the body. The spineless worms are destroyed by the blazing sun. Likewise the loveless soul will be dried by *Dharma*, the inexorable law of morality. Rajaji expresses this tenet of Tiruvalluvar's moralistic humanism tersely thus:

> Inflexible law withers the soul of him that has no love in his heart, even as the Sun shrivels up the bodies of boneless worms.As the spine supports the bodies of vertebrates love supports the soul; without it, life shrinks and stops the spirit's evolution. (**Kural** 9)

A person is really bedecked not with beauteous jewels and ornaments but by his polite behaviour and tender words. Rajaji brings out this noble trait of the moralistic humanism that a good man should possess as his true ornament, according to Valluvar. Rajaji translates, "Not jewels but courteous deportment and gentleness of speech are the things that adorn" (**Kural** 13).

A person would have caused the unbearable suffering to somebody comparable, to death itself. But the remembrance of one good deed, previously done to the sufferer by that person, would make the former forget the present pain inflicted by the latter. This pragmatic approach helps one, to alleviate the psychological stress and strain and cultivates the sense of gratitude and the spirit of love, which will lead Humanity, on the path of the moralistic humanism to attain bliss through *Dharma*. Rajaji states this practical guidance of Valluvar thus:

> Painful like death itself may be the evil that you suffer at a man's hand. But remind yourself of some good thing that he once did for you. It will help you to forget the present pain:
>
> This is another fine instance of Tiruvalluvar's characteristic way of giving helpful practical hints to follow what may seem to be a mere counsel of perfection, showing what may seem to be a mere counsel of perfection, showing what a great master of psychology Valluvar was. (**Kural** 15)

The ill-gotten wealth will not bless one's children. The well gotten possessions of a good man of honesty will safeguard his progeny from any danger. This moral dictum of Tiruvalluvar guides humanity, with a profound wisdom practicable in the mundane life. Rajaji states, "The most powerful motive for the householder is the desire to see that his children are assured of happiness after him. Upright conduct, says Tiruvalluvar, ensures this" (**Kural** 15-16).

Self-control is a moralistic and humanistic virtue, capable of raising one's status to that of gods by deification. Rajaji explains the value of self-control, as one of the greatest human virtues thus:

> Self-control is as necessary a virtue for the householder as for the recluse. *Adakkam* in Tamil may mean either self-control or humility, self-control, guarding against cupidity, pride and anger, is what is dealt with here. Self-control takes one to the gods; wants of it will push one into utter darkness. (**Kural** 17)

Discipline is more valuable than life itself, since life itself gains nobility and value only by discipline. Rajaji points out this moral assertion of Valluvar and states, "Discipline of life is more precious than life itself, for it is out of that discipline that life derives value" (**Kural** 19).

It is very easy to wreak vengeance on somebody in retaliation, but that ignominious act would bring only a momentary pleasure. If the revengeful mood is suppressed and forbearance is fostered that will result in timeless glory. Rajaji explains this principle of the moralistic humanism, showing tolerance to others who inflict pain on us, forgiving and forgetting it to pave the way for eternal glory. He says:

> Retaliation gives but a day's joy. Forbearance brings glory for all time. Momentary is the gratification felt in inflicting pain in return for pain inflicted. But the reward for forbearance is the esteem of good men for all time. We may not therefore sacrifice the larger for the smaller pleasure. (**Kural** 24)

Jealousy causes untold misery to anyone who covets others' possessions. The greatest asset of a person, is his own impeccable mind which is free from the evil influence of envy. Envy impoverishes one's mind and such a person of jealousy can never attain bliss on earth. Rajaji explains:

> There is no greater wealth than the possession of a mind that is free from envy: The envying of others' possessions is equivalent to poverty. It makes one, though in possession of wealth, go through as much misery as poverty causes. (**Kural** 25)

If one covets others' possessions, one's true happiness will disappear. The ill gotten possession through unlawful means, would bring him only misery. Rajaji brings out this moral principle of Tiruvalluvar, to give a didactic direction to the dithering humanity. He states, "True enjoyment is possible only if the acquisition is lawful" (**Kural** 29).

There should be a high degree of decorum and decency, maintained in one's talk; otherwise such a worthless indecent speech, would receive the contempt of humanity. Individual's morality is as important as Nation's morality since everybody's character adds to the national character. Rajaji the Moralistic humanist conveys this moral principle of keeping a high standard of decorum in one's speech as prescribed by Tiruvalluvar. Rajaji states:

> He who indulges in purposeless talk causing disgust to his company earns universal contempt. This is intended to instil decorum of speech in company and points out the serious consequences of a seemingly venial fault. (**Kural** 30)

If everybody becomes a self-scrutinizing and morally responsible person of rectitude, he should stop speaking ill of others. In such a noble atmosphere there would not be any evil in existence in this world. This sound moral principle of Valluvar is aptly translated by Rajaji. He says, "If men would see their own faults as they see the faults of others, verily evil would come to an end in this world" (**Kural** 30).

In the case of a man of conscience, his inner moral and spiritual voice thwarts him from committing any vice. The evil is compared to fire by Tiruvalluvar.

Evil breeds evil like fire breeds on the things consumed. Rajaji explains Tiruvalluvar's analogy that the sin has the same character and the nimbleness of fire. He says, "From evil springs fresh evil, like fire which regenerates itself. Men should shrink from sin as from a terror even worse than fire. The peculiarity of fire is that, out of what is consumed, it makes for itself regenerative continuity" (**Kural** 31-32).

Charity or helping the poor never implies the slightest expectation of any reward in return. So helping the hapless poor with an altruistic heart is the real charity. Other gifts presented to others, other than the poor are only commercial activities expecting a profit in return. Rajaji points out this noble moral practice of helping the needy, without any expectation, in his translation of Tiruvalluvar's couplet on Charity. The Moralistic humanism of Tiruvalluvar is brought as Rajaji states, "That alone is a gift which is given to the needy. Gifts to others are in the nature of business transactions wherein what is given is expected to be duly returned" (**Kural** 36-37).

Compassion gives one the happiness even in the world beyond, this mundane life. It is as certain and definite like the happiness in this world which depends on the material assets. Without compassion there is no hope for heavenly bliss. Rajaji succinctly puts forth this moral direction of Tiruvalluvar's humanistic vision and says, "Even as happiness in this world depends on material possessions, compassion is that on which your happiness in the world beyond wholly depends" (**Kural** 41).

If compassion is the basis of human goodness, it follows that one cannot be compassionate and so one cannot be good after killing and eating another creature's

flesh, for feeding and fattening his own flesh. So meat-eating becomes an evil practice, violating compassion. Tiruvalluvar is highly concerned with this moral practice of abstinence, from eating meat. Rajaji brings out this moral implication, in his translation thus:

> How can a man adopt the way of compassion, gorging on the flesh of other beings in order to fatten his own flesh? Meat-eating is inconsistent with tenderness to life or compassion. Nature cannot work a contrary whatever be the casuistry about it. If we must eat meat, let us not talk of compassion. (**Kural** 42-43)

The purity of a person lies not in his external manifestations, but in his internal sanctity of soul. Rajaji, the Moralistic humanist, explains Tiruvalluvar's advice to hermits and others, who grow tufts or tonsure their heads, to show their commitment to spiritual observance. He states, "Avoid what the world condemns. If you succeed in this, there is no need for the shaven head or the growing of long beards" (**Kural** 49).

No external agent can cleanse the impurity in a heart. Water is useful only in cleaning outwardly. So the only cleansing factor of the impurity in the heart is truthfulness. Rajaji explains this didactic advocacy of Tiruvalluvar, "Water makes external cleanliness. Truthfulness is the detergent of the heart" (**Kural** 51).

Anger causes the birth of successive evils, leading to total doom of a person. Rajaji, with a moralistic and humanistic fervour quotes, "From anger is born all evil. Let us forget the cause for provocation given by anyone" (**Kural** 52-53).

If one is capable of forgiving another person's misdeed and doing him a good service that is the best way of punishing such an evil doer, by putting him into shame. Instead of being provoked in retaliation, the evil doer will become subservient, in utter shame. Rajaji brings forth this moral code of humanism propounded by Thiruvalluvar thus:

> The best punishment for those who do evil to you, is to shame them by returning good for evil: This may appear to be a platitude. Actual experiment will disclose how practical and effective the advice is. The pain felt by the wrong doer in his shame is greater than any that anger could inflict on him. (**Kural** 54)

Rajaji delineates the moral warning of Tiruvalluvar as found in his couplets against the evil habits of prostitution, addiction to liquor and indulging in gambling. Tiruvalluvar deals with these evils and their dire consequences in thirty couplets. Rajaji explains Valluvar's moralistic and humane warnings to save humanity from sinking into these evil habits thus:

> Thirty Kural couplets are devoted to warning men against lust, wine and gambling. The false embrace of a woman who sells her body for money is like trying to find pleasure in the embrace of the dead body of an unknown person in a dark room. To show reason to one who has indulged in liquor is like taking a light to search for a man who is drowned in deep water. The light of reason cannot pierce the darkness of a drunkard's mind even as a light cannot be taken under water. The poison has bereft him of the power of response to reason. Gambling,

> even if you win, is a thing to be avoided. The winning is like the fish swallowing the hook. (**Kural** 94-95)

Rajaji's Moralistic humanism, finds its profound expression in some of his, Tamil short stories, translated into English. In his story entitled, "Shanti Devi" Rajaji brings out the misery of the young daughter-in-law named Lakshmi, at the merciless hands of her mother-in-law. Having a weak left arm, Lakshmi is not able to draw water daily from the well, under the strict order of her mother-in-law, Parvatiammal. Lakshmi's husband Natesan took pity on her, knowing her inability and obliged to draw water from the well. But the mother-in-law began, to hate her daughter-in-law thinking that she was arrogant. Sitamma a widow and the daughter of Parvatiammal, also joined in reprimanding Lakshmi. Lakshmi's left arm became swollen. Natesan joined with his mother and they forced the father of Lakshmi, to take her to his home for curing her left arm. But Lakshmi's fear confined her to the bed. So Parvatiammal, planned to conduct a second marriage, to her son and found a suitable match for Natesan named Meenakshi, the daughter of her younger brother. Natesan and Minakshi got married. The author delineates the moralistic and humanistic reaction of the public who pitied the tragic plight of Lakshmi, ditched by her own husband and her mother-in-law thus:

> They all pitied Lakshmi. They said, 'Look at this cruel injustice. She has been abandoned simply because she was ill for a few days.' 'It seems her husband has married again. Scandalous injustice!' some said. 'Gem of a girl, she has been made helpless! (**Stories** 96).

Lakshmi out of frustration attempted suicide by falling into the river. But she was saved by the Pagalur Mission hospital *padre* or a pastor. Lakshmidevi's name was changed into Shantidevi and she became a mid-wife in that hospital. She attended the second delivery of Meenakshi without revealing her identity to anybody. Being a selfless midwife, Shantidevi does not want to spoil the happiness of Natesan and Meenakshi, by exposing her identity when the *Padre* wants her reunion with her husband and offers to convince her husband. Shantidevi feels that this will be morally an injustice to the second wife Meenakshi. With a rare humane gesture, Shantidevi responds to the query of the *padre*, "Do you consent to go back to your husband? I can explain everything to him and arrange matters", he asked. "No, Father! The innocent girl is happy. Why should I go?" (**Stories** 102).

The short story "Devayani" depicts the sufferings of a poor weaver-family, from Ponnammapet in Salem. Vyapuri becomes jobless, as the trade in handloom products met a severe setback. His sister Devayani and his mother were forced to go for sweeping and other menial jobs in houses. Vyapuri went to Bangalore, in search of a job. But the violations of morality, in the form of corruption and debauchery, sap out the humanistic concern and mutual love in the society. In such a social milieu Vyapuri and his young sister Devayani become the hapless victims. Vyapuri in his letter to his mother writes, "After bribing a lot of people, I have at last got a job in the mill" (**Stories** 106).

In the case of Devayani she is exploited by the cook in a house and later by a jobber in a mill in Madras. The innocent Devayani couldn't understand the immoral desire of the jobber. She asks a fellow-worker thus:

> What does all this mean sister? Why does he speak to me like this? The woman laughed and said, don't you even know that much? You are a village girl. If you don't please him, you will lose half your wages in fines. If he is pleased yon will have many conveniences. (**Stories** 110)

When she becomes pregnant by the jobber, she is advised to terminate it. But another advice was given, not to kill the baby, since it will be a curse on her generations. At last she chose to go to "the philanthropic dame" who gave shelter and food to such abandoned women. After giving birth to a child, she was asked to stay there for some time. Soon Devayani came to know that she was exploited in a brothel house by the "woman of philanthropy". The author narrates:

> She learned the truth a month later. The old woman was conducting a house of ill fame, with helpless women who had been entrapped by deceitful men. Devayani was caught in the net. She did not go to work in the mills again. (**Stories** 111)

Later, she became a beggar with her child in the street, begging for alms. Ramanath, the eldest son of the retired pensioner in Salem in whose house Devayani went to work as a menial servant, saw her in the China Bazzar, while shopping with his wife Sitalakshmi. Thus the story highlights the moral issues of poverty and immorality which reduce the helpless poor to such a pitiable and a forlorn state of social alienation.

The short story entitled "An Election Story" depicts the rise and fall of Srirangan, a *harijan* doing a small business of supplying goods to the European

owners of coffee and tea plantations. The Collector of Kottur appreciating his honesty and integrity, recommended Srirangan's name to the seat of the *harijan* member, in the Municipal Board. Soon because of various responsibilities in public life Srirangan, could not attend his business. He deputed Varadan, in his place and gave him a share in the profits. Srirangan began to squander the advance payments for goods from the wives of the planters and soon ran into a financial crisis. There was an election to the post of Municipal Chairman and the rich yarn-merchant Dhanapala Chettiar and Vakil Ramaswamy Mudaliar were in the fray. Dhanapala Chettiar fixed a thousand rupees as bribe for each councillor. But Ramaswamy Mudaliar did not want to indulge in such dirty corruptive practice of buying the votes with money. Mudaliar laments, "What can we do against the corruption of the times? Chairmen in the old days were more respectable. Now-a-days honest men have no chance anywhere" (**Stories** 117).

Though lot of persuasion was on from both sides to get the vote of Srirangan, all was in vain. Srirangan wanted to remain in his honesty and integrity. Even Srirangan's mother advises:

> I have no cholera or anything else, but I feel queer. Take the thousand rupees that the snuff-merchant has brought and give up this cursed business once for all. Payoff your debts and lead a decent life. I have not many more days to live. (**Stories** 121-22)

But the virtuous Srirangan was unswerving from the moral dictates of his conscience and put aside the money and ran away virtually. At last Srirangan though, rebuked by both sides, Mudaliar praised him truly and appreciated him for

his moral integrity. "Corruption!" cried people of the opposite faction. "Srirangan is the only honest man," Said Mudaliar (**Stories** 121-22).

Thus "An election story" glorifies the virtues of a poor *harijan* whose integrity never swerves even in the most trying moments of his life.

The short story written originally in English by Rajaji entitled, "The Tree Speaks", delineates the moral obligation of the humanity to foster a profound and natural affection for trees. Rajaji's Master, Gandhiji welcomes the "tree worship" as a veneration of God's "vegetable kingdom", in **Young India**, dated 26th September 1929, Gandhi says:

> I find in the practice of tree worship a thing instinct with deep pathos and poetic beauty. It symbolizes true reverence for the entire vegetable kingdom, which with its endless panorama of beautiful shapes and forms, declares to us as it were with a million tongues the greatness and glory of God. (**Voice of Truth** 110)

Colonel Ray Johnson, a member of the Indian Medical Service, was well known to the author, at Salem. The colonel was an ardent lover of the trees. He used to whisper to them polite words and kiss them showing his true affection for them. The author describes the doctor's immense affection towards trees thus:

> The doctor had a habit of talking to the trees on the roadside as he took his walk in the evenings. He would bend intimately and kiss the trees and whisper to them kind words. This was odd but very beautiful to see. One would not like to disturb him by letting him see he was watched in this process of love. If one stood at a distance and

> watched, it was indeed a beautiful thing to see in this naughty world. (**Stories** 239)

But according to the official direction one of the trees had to be removed, since it was too near the new District Board office building. The shocked Col. Johnson expresses his agony, "They have killed my tall, beautiful girl." He further laments, "They say this tree was too near the building, who asked them to place their building so near the tree? The tree has been growing there these forty years and this upstart building came to be there only last year (**Stories** 240).

Later, the author had a strange dream in which the fallen Aswattha tree pleaded with him, to take up its case and get justice done. It also advises that God would take up its case as the judge. It also narrates how Subbayyar, the Huzur Shiristadar was saved by it from a mortal fever. The tree speaks about the feast offered to the poor sitting around it. The tree acknowledges the author's readiness, to write a letter to the newspapers and says:

> Yes, do so. I was a young *Aswattha* sapling once upon a time. The Huzur Shiristadar then was Subbayyar, a grand man with a fine red turban with gold lace in it; his wife used to come and put Sandal Paste and *Kumkum* on my trunk and utter prayers that her son might be cured. He was suffering from a bad fever for weeks and weeks and lay unconscious sometimes. But he got well. Then Subbayyar himself came and gave a feast to the poor folk who sat around and ate, making a great noise. Those were great days. But now I have been slaughtered. Will you abandon me? (**Stories** 241-42).

The author wrote a letter of strong protest to the Press against the mistake of felling old trees. His letter was published in the **Madras Mail**. While all the other lawyers were seriously agitating about Home Rule and the deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai to Mandalay, Rajaji's unexpected and serious inclination to save the old trees was looked upon as an act of disproportion. One of his lawyer friends commented:

> Sir, when we are all agitating about Home Rule, you write about tree felling. Is this not frivolous? Have you no sense of proportion? . "Here is Lala Lajpat Rai deported to Mandalay, or we don't know where and you write about a road-side tree being cut down" said the President of the Bar Association and he left the company in a fit of anger and hopelessness about me. (**Stories** 242)

The author is doubly emphatic, about his moralistic and humanistic commitment to help the preservation of the old trees on the strong belief, that every tree has a divine life as corroborated in the healing of the Subbayyar, the *Huzur Shiristadar* from a serious fever in the dream of the author. The author fervently admits his love for the trees and says, "Those were great days and I took part in all the public agitations. But I did not regret writing about the papal tree" (**Stories** 242).

Thus Rajaji exudes a humanistic affection towards the preservation of trees as a bounden social and moral responsibility.

The short story originally written in English by Rajaji entitled "Hats and Sarees" reveals the snobbish, cat-copying attitude of Mr. Kaushika, I.C.S., the

young Assistant Collector in-charge of Parvatipur division. Mr. Moberley, the District Collector gave an evening party for which Mr. and Mrs. Kaushika were invited. Mr. Kaushika had, "intellectually discarded all Hindu Superstitions". His orthodox mother demanded the annual performing of *Shraddha* for her husband. The officiating Brahmin priests were forewarned by Mr. Kaushika to finish the ceremony very fast. Kaushika's real name was Gopalakrishna Aiyar. While studying in Oxford, he chose to call himself by the name of his *gotra* since it was nearer to the English mode of naming. Hence his name became Mr. Kaushika. Once the ceremony was over, he started for the evening party on a motorbike with his wife in its ''side car".

Mr. Kaushika wore a hat and started for the party on the Local Board road, full of ruts and pits. The rural people saw them as a wonder with gaping mouths. At last they arrived at the Collector's bungalow. During the story-telling programme Mr. Saketaram, a Deputy Collector and a popular story teller, began to narrate the impact of Mr. & Mrs. Kaushika's journey, on the rural people. When Mr. Saketaram stopped to meet the ryots on the way and enquired about the rain, an old man whispered to his ears seriously thus, "Would the gods send rain, Sir, when even Brahmin women have become so bad and elope with *Chattaikarans* (Eurasians)?" (**Stories** 246).

The old man, having misconstrued Mr. Kaushika with a hat, for a Whiteman continues:

> ...the rascal white-man was on the wheel, with a hat on and in the carriage attached, a fine blue carriage, there was seated a good

> Brahmin girl in red silk saree and beautiful flowers, laughing away as she was most happy to be carried away by that wicked Eurasian. There was absolutely no shame, Sir, in her even when they saw us. It was so open and wicked. What have we come to, Sir? No wonder the gods hold the rains back. (**Stories** 246)

Everybody laughed at the mistake and the misconception, generated by the hat of Mr. Kaushika. The author brings out nicely, the ridiculous predicament of a responsible public servant, who is enamoured of the western way of dressing and livings. The basic moral of nurturing unflinching loyalty and genuine respect for one's own tradition and social ethos, is thus highlighted by the author, who also condemns the snobbish attitude of the foreign returned officials.

"A Pair of Sandals" is a short story originally written in English by Rajaji. It reveals how the author was pragmatic in reforming the morally weak, chronic, drunkard cobbler, by addressing his conscience and by evoking his innate esteem for his profession. Maniyanur was a famine hit village which came under the care of the Ashram, run by the author and his team. The *harijan*s of that village were poor cobblers. There were an arrack shop and a toddy tavern nearby. The cobblers took a pledge of absolute abstinence, from liquor. When the cobblers came to the Ashram, to get their grain, at half price, there was a complaint, raised against two men, who were said to have drunk violating the pledge. Rajaji successful as lawyer by profession admits, "Eighteen years of practice at the Bar had left little belief in me about oaths and affirmations" (**Stories** 256).

The author continues with his moral conviction, to impel the drunkard accept his violation, by evoking the cobbler's highest respect for his job, using leather to earn his livelihood. The author narrates:

> While I was thus turning the business over in my mind, I saw my sandals lying below. I called the old man up. "You all live by working on leather, don't you?" I asked. "Yes," the old man replied. "Here is leather that feeds you. Take it up in both your hands," I said pointing to my pair of Sandals. He took them up. "Say after me", I said, "upon this leather that feeds me and before God." He repeated. the words. "Did your son drink?" I asked the man. "Yes, he did," confessed the old man, looking at me with dazed, wide-open eyes. (**Stories** 256)

The author with a profound moralistic and humanistic faith in Truth says:

> 'There my worn out sandals lay which these poor people had sanctified and left,' mutely saying, 'No! You are wrong in losing faith. Truth and reverence are not dead.' Country sandals are not merely useful things for one's feet. They embody the bread and faith of poor cobblers. One has to tread lightly and reverently in them. (**Stories** 257)

Thus Rajaji evokes a robust optimistic note of moral and spiritual redemption by the poor even amidst their poverty and ill habits.

Gandhiji lucidly brings out the unison between religion and morality. He says, "True religion and true morality are inseparably bound up with each other.

Religion is to morality what water is to the seed that is sown in the soil" (**Voice of Truth** 264).

Rajaji reiterates the same amalgamation of religion and morality. Moral principles may not be having the measurable dimension like length and breadth or weight but they are very essential for a good human conduct. In an age of Reason these moral principles, should hang on divinity praised by some faith. They regulate not only the individuals but also the governments of the Nations. Rajaji affirms, "Like the air we breathe moral principles are the very life of nations… Moral principles cannot but hang on something divine, some faith not entirely dependent on reason" (**Dear Reader** 313).

In Rajaji's Vision humanism and moral values cannot stand by themselves in isolation. Religion is the bedrock of these values. In the view of the nineteenth century philosophers, humanism was considered to be adequate, even without any religion or faith in God. But Rajaji the moralistic humanist bolstered by his staunch faith in God says:

> It is modern intellectual delusion to think that moral values can stand by themselves in isolation. Religion is the indispensable basis for these values. It appeared to nineteenth century philosophers that humanism without any religion or God hypothesis could be sufficient. The law of inertia makes a wheel revolve for some time after the driving power ceases. But when the momentum has ceased, the wheel goes dead. (**Dear Reader** 314)

God's grace will be abundant if we follow God in our daily life. Dishonesty would bring only havoc. Only hard work reinforced by the undaunted faith in God and love for others will bring the miracle we want to happen. Rajaji states:

> Francis Thompson and all our *Alwaars* and *Naayanmars* have told us this. The British poet sings his famous song to tell us that God is a Hound and is pursuing us even while we run away to escape from Him. The miracle we stand in need of will happen and take us to prosperity, security and well-being if we are godly in heart and do not shirk work. Misfortunes will multiply if we are ungodly. They test and harden us if we depend on God and are faithful to Him. (**Dear Reader** 315)

Thus Rajaji reiterates the most reliable and inevitable spiritual guidance of God and concludes that even moral values should have the bedrock of religion for their sustenance.

Thus this chapter sums up the intricate values forming the moralistic humanism in the works of Rajaji. They prove Rajaji to be the votary of morality after Gandhi, his Master. He clamours for a resurgence of moral renaissance in free India. Such a revival is founded on the moralistic and humanistic values such as character as the "National Policy", strict adherence to the dictates of conscience and *Dharma*, practice of morals in daily life, eradication of selfishness and holistic growth of one's personality.True education of conforming to discipline, automatic negation of evil in any form, avoidance of meat, smoking, liquor, pornography and contraceptives,are other moralistic values. Adoption of orphans, nullifying the

immoral Family Planning Programme, affirming the dignity of labour, accommodating the slum dwellers, abolition of immoral jail practices, stopping immoral automation, Nuclear Disarmament, Craftsmanship, Ethos of Teachers and Students, Compassion to the poor, Meekness of the mighty, Bureaucracy with integrity, eradication of Permit-Licence Raj, Communal harmony, Tiruvalluvar's Pragmatic moral codes, restoration of the equality of women, corruptionless election, love of trees, avoidance of snobbery and the bolstering of Morality by Spirituality are the values of moralistic humanism founded on a strong foundation of spirituality.

Rajaji's moralistic humanism is thus fundamentally intertwined inextricably with spiritual wisdom. This unison leads to the scrutiny of the Spiritual humanism as the last dimension in the works of Rajaji in the next Chapter.

CHAPTER - V

SPIRITUAL HUMANISM IN RAJAJI

Chapter V

SPIRITUAL HUMANISM IN RAJAJI

This Chapter explores the explication of the synthesis of the spiritual humanism found in the works of Rajaji.

Rajaji as a humanist had an immense faith in God and in *Dharma,* the law of God, regulating humanity's spiritual and moral life. Man's mundane life with all his moral and spiritual responsibilities, should be lived according to the strict dictates of *Dharma,* so that his soul is not entangled in the web of sins and lose the Eternal life for the sake of worldly pleasures. K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar, while commenting on the spiritual dimension of Rajaji's matured humanistic vision states:

> With age, however, has come a marvellous mellowing as well, the intellect has readily opened itself to the government of the heart and soul and the politician, the administrator and the leader of men is now exceeded by the moralist, the humanist and the man of God - the Sage who bears bold witness to the categorical imperatives and ineffable realities in the world of the spirit. (**Indian Writing** 556)

Thus Rajaji's spiritual humanism springs from his own inseparable faith in God. In October 1962, Rajaji led the Gandhi Peace Foundation delegation, to plead for a total ban on nuclear tests. K. Natwar Singh, former Indian Ambassador to America, arranged a week's stay for Rajaji in his apartment in New York. In his introduction, he brings out Rajaji's spiritual simplicity so succinctly:

> this was the great man's first ever visit outside india. i was curious to see how this sage of the old world cope with the pace and more of the new world. i saw much of him at close quarters. in one week he demonstrated with effortless ease and grace how the rishis in ancient india must have lived (sic). (Kesavan 8)

The spiritual strength of Gandhi, his inalienable cohesiveness with Truth and *Dharma* also impelled Rajaji to follow Gandhiji, in his own personal and public life. Gandhiji's vocation was to spiritualize politics and to establish a realm of universal peace, love and amity for the total welfare of humanity through non-violence, pervaded the heart and mind of Rajaji. K. T. Narasimhachar refers to Rajaji's spiritual inclination and says, "His life was an epitome of his boundless faith in eternal values" (3).

The spiritual calibre, with which, Gandhiji established his non-violent movement for freedom, had an indelible impress, on Rajaji and fused him in the noble mission, undertaken by Gandhiji. Rajaji's words and deeds bear an impeccable testimony, to his unflinching loyalty to Gandhiji's moral and spiritual principles.

Rajaji, like his master Gandhiji, was an ardent follower of Hinduism and its spiritual and humanistic values. Rajaji besides fulfilling his duties to his family, to the nation and to humanity, was always relentleless, in his spiritual quest, by strictly conforming to the dictates of *dharma*, the inexorable law of the divinity. He received fearlessness of mind, spiritual courage and integrity from his unswerving faith in God's authority and His compassion. Amidst the hectic political and

administrative life, its afflictions and challenges, Rajaji could stand like a mountain of goodwill, hope and spiritual prowess. His writings and speeches bear witness, to his spiritual basis of thinking and living. Rajaji wrote in Tamil a "very famous song in semi-Carnatic music genre", entitled "*Kurai Onrum Illai*", which means, "I have no unfulfilled desires left Oh! God". This discloses his deep sense of detachment with the worldly desires, which he imbibed from his master Mahatma Gandhi (http://www.ceeby.com/people/Rajaji, cfm).

K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar remarks, about the Patna University lecture of Rajaji, on "A Religion for Modern Times" as a compendium of the quintessence of Hinduism and its philosophy. Rajaji says, "Religions that contradict the conclusions of science cannot but degenerate into formalism and hypocrisy and Hindu philosophy can claim to be peculiarly in harmony with the latest, knowledge" (**Indian Writing** 557).

Such a profound faith in Hinduism, as a way of life and as a religion made Rajaji's humanistic vision profoundly a spiritual one, galvanizing towards the absolute oneness of humanity, built on a selfless sense of equality poised for the salvation of the soul with spiritual bliss. Rajaji states:

> Religion is essentially faith in the reality of God's rule. Through this faith man acquires limitless courage and capacity for suffering and sacrifice. They acquire a sense of equality and the oneness of the human family and indeed the oneness of all life. (Narasimhachar 98)

There is a supreme purpose for man's life, in the world and in the world beyond his death. This purpose is to attain the self realization that, God is our

creator and we are His children. So we should love each other and our Father, absolutely with devotion and humility. This noble realization differentiates man, from other living beings. Through worship and devotion with piety, one can find solace for his soul, by detachment from the mundane ties. Rajaji, the spiritual humanist stresses the essential significance of worship of God thus:

> The worship of God is an elemental necessity of life as it has evolved in man and his mind. It is on a par with the urge for the maintenance of the race and the urge for the preservation of life, like hunger and thirst and the urge of sex. It is a fundamental of existence and survival, not what can be questioned on the basis of use and utility. Man's survival calls for detachment and therefore for God. (Narasimhachar 98)

The "elemental necessity" or God leads us to forge into one family though we follow different faiths.

According to Rajaji, Hinduism has an innate attitude of fostering a fraternity, among different faiths,by acknowledging that all the ways of different religions lead to the Almighty. This fraternal attitude, to establish a fellowship among various faiths, strengthens the noble cause of the Spiritual humanism, which strives for one global family, leading to a selfless genuine life of love and sacrifice and yearning for the salvation of one's soul, truthfully following the prescriptions of *Dharma* and one's fulfilment of one's own *karma* or duty. Rajaji extols this precious spiritual and humanistic philosophy of Hinduism and affirms:

> The Hindu doctrine of all ways leading to God with the resulting attitude of the Hindu Creed towards all other religions is unique. No other creed has arrived at this all - embracing fraternity of faiths which Hinduism stands for. Judaism, Christianity and Islam do not give room for this doctrine of universality. (Narasimhachar 29)

Rajaji's spiritual humanism defines a *Vedantin* as a spiritual soldier against evil, fighting heroically for the oneness and happiness. A *Vedantin* practises this quintessence of *Vedanta*, as found in **Upanishads** and **The Bhagavad Gita**, for the amelioration of the universal harmony and the absolute welfare of humanity.

Rajaji, the spiritual humanist defines the committed task of a *Vedantin* in this mundane life, according to the tenets of *Vedanta*, thus. He says, "The *Vedantin* is a citizen of the world and a soldier in the world's army in a totally non-martial but no less heroic war against evil, the more heroic since he seeks no personal reward" (Narasimhachar 103). Such a *Vedantin* who is altruistic in vision and mission alone can work for a genuine realization of the lofty ideals of the spiritual humanism.

So, Rajaji asserts that it is wrong on the part of the educated to think of God and religion as superfluity. The elite think, conformity to certain rules and performing one's duty without attachment, gives an automatic spiritual satisfaction. But the problem of such a person is to sustain this sense of detachment, throughout his life. This feeling of detachment may dither at times of trying and confounding situation, when one meets defeat unjustifiably and in an undeserving way. In such conflicting contexts of human predicament, only absolute faith and humble devotion to God, can sustain humanity. Rajaji states:

> What will sustain equanimity and maintain loyalty to rules of decency and gentleness when one undeservedly meets with failure or with something worse? Nothing but fixed faith and devotion to God can sustain us. (**Satyam** I: 15)

Rajaji expounds this basis of spiritual humanism with the assertions of the great Tamil poet Tiruvalluvar, the sage Nammalwar and the great teaching of **The Gita**. Tiruvalluvar directs us to hold fast to the Almighty. This noble and the greatest attachment to God, will enable oneself, to release his soul from the bindings of other attachments. Rajaji brings out the core meaning of the couplet of Tiruvalluvar and explains, "Hold fast to the Lord. Keep that supreme attachment intact so that you may be released from other attachments that bind the soul" (Satyam I: 16). Nammalwar also reiterates the same spiritual principle mooted by Tiruvalluvar. Rajaji translates this principle of Nammalwar and states, "If attachment has left, salvation has been reached indeed. And if that detachment is to be fixed unalterably and attachment is to be wiped out completely, surrender yourself to the love of God" (**Satyam** I: 16).

The Gita teaches the same supreme attachment to God, which alone can ever sustain oneself, in detachment of mundane pleasures. Referring to this paradigm of **The Gita** Rajaji says, "One can keep away from the things that give pleasure to the senses, but the longing remains. That too will disappear if your eyes turn upwards to God" (**Satyam** I: 16).

According to **The Gita**, Rajaji says, such a paramount attachment to God alone will release anybody, from every sin committed by him. Man should seek

Him, as "the sole refuge" (**Satyam** I: 16). Thus worship of God and an unshakable faith in God with genuine devotion become the basis of the spiritual humanism.

Mahatma Gandhi a man of God, got freedom through his absolute dependence on the guidance of God. Rajaji points out that Independent India has forgotten God and His immanence. So mankind now reels under all evils. The spiritual humanism of Gandhi, won the freedom for us, but our callousness towards the Almighty, has made us go berserk groping in darkness. Rajaji reiterates Gandhi's unflinching faith in God and says:

> We got freedom through the genius and the efforts of a man of God. He found a way to confound the then most powerful imperialist power on earth and made it yield India her full freedom. Every moment of his life he depended on God. But after him, he who inherited freedom have found God troublesome and left Him un-recognized. As a result, we are in a morass of disunion, corruption, careerist individualism, greed and dishonesty which have made all laws and plans for progress nearly futile. (**Satyam** I: 76)

Rajaji the spiritual humanist explains that the catholicity in Hinduism, paves the way, for a strong fellowship, among various religions, culminating in universal fraternity, by eliminating animosity, in the name of religion. With a spiritual conviction, he says, "Of all the more important religions in the world, Hinduism is one that specifically includes in its tenets and in its discipline the faith that 'all ways lead to God'. It demands an equal regard for all forms of worship" (**Satyam** I: 97-98).

The Isa Mantras 6 and 7 explain, according to Rajaji, the oneness of humanity leading to the disappearance of hatred and fear. Love and fearlessness pervade humanity and blossom into spiritual humanism. The spiritual humanism advocates the salvation of the soul from the mundane bindings and sins, so that each one can see his own self in other living beings. This will result in the filial acknowledgement of each one's dignity and each one's divinity and nobility of soul. Rajaji sums up the quintessence of the Isa Mantras 6 and 7 saying, "If a man sees other lives in himself and his own self in other beings, how can he any longer fear others or have any aversion towards them? Surely he cannot" (**Satyam** I: 29-30).

The constancy in surrendering oneself to the Will of God, will bring His grace on oneself. It will help him to overcome all difficulties in life. If man does not rely on Him fully, his ego will become a dominant factor, leading to humanity's ruin. So as a spiritualistic humanist, Rajaji with a primary concern on the welfare of humanity suggests this total abolition of ego and devotion of one's life to God (**Satyam** III: 357). From **The Gita**, in Chapter XVIII and Verses 66, Rajaji quotes, "You may have strayed from the path of rectitude and committed many an error. Come to me; seek refuge in Me with complete confidence. Do not doubt, I shall release you from all sin" (**Satyam** III: 358). Thus Krishna teaches us how to work and how to live, bringing into accord the spiritual and the temporal side of daily life.

Thus Rajaji's Spiritual humanism advocates the vital human need for the faith in God and worship through a religion. Some people think that morals can be propagated and imbibed without the help of faith in God and without the support of any religion. But according to Rajaji the spiritual humanist, even morality cannot be

sustained for a long time without the support of spirituality. Morality is like a mirror and the tin and the mercury behind it are like God and Religion. The capacity of the mirror as a looking - glass gains its ability and utility only by the tin and the mercury behind the glass. Once the tin and the mercury are gone, the looking glass becomes useless. Likewise morality would lose its sustainability, without spirituality. Rajaji says, "When God and Religion are gone, morals will be just that kind of mirror" (**Satyam** I: 99).

Rajaji illustrates the essential distinction between a moralist and a spiritualist. A materialist says that life is just a combination of attraction and repulsion. Quick lime absorbing water, symbolizes attraction. Sodium or potassium burning in water and splitting it represents repulsion. The spiritualists like the Rishis look upon water, light, sound and air as the manifestations of God. The success of science is also the success of religion, since all the accomplishments of science are, only the evidences of God's immanence.

Rajaji clarifies the complementary status prevailing between science and religion thus. He says, "A candle burning and the sun shining, a Sankaracharya's thoughts and a computer that adds up at a shop-counter, are all manifestations of the same power and the same law" (**Satyam** II).

The modem era with its scientific and technological advancements, tempt humanity to think that the moral values can stand by themselves, without the support of spirituality or religion. But Rajaji the spiritual humanist asserts that, even humanism cannot sustain itself, without the spiritual basis. He asserts:

> It is modern intellectual delusion to think that moral values can stand by themselves in isolation. Religion is the indispensable basis for these values. It appeared to nineteenth century philosophers that humanism without any religion or God-hypothesis could be sufficient The law of inertia makes a wheel revolve for some time after the driving power ceases. But when the momentum has ceased the wheel goes dead. (**Dear Reader** 314)

Thus appealing to all Indians to rely on religion and God Rajaji directs everybody to assimilate a sense of devotion to one's own duty.

If the faith in God is lost there will be utter chaos. Rajaji visualizes the scene of such a chaotic movement of all sorts of vehicles, without any conformity to the rules of traffic. Seeing this anarchy on the road, the "Angel of Progress" comes down and regulates all to follow the norms of traffic. Soon there is order, on the road. "The Angel of progress" advocates the regulation of God given energy and desire with patience and without greedy nature.

Rajaji warns that if humanity denies God and Soul, it has to meet such an utter chaos and the world has to face darkness. He warns, "Deny God, deny the soul and you will be like vehicles without lights on the road in a dark night" (**Satyam** II: 713).

Some may argue that morality is enough, even if there is no soul. But Rajaji's spiritual vision terms morality as the Moon and spirituality as the Sun. The Moon gets its light from the Sun. There are waxes and wanes and many times, the clouds also hide the light of the Moon symbolising, so many tussles of confusion,

caused in one's life, who depends only on morality and not on spirituality. Thus spiritual humanism of Rajaji's vision, directs humanity to cling to the faith in God and in soul to get rid of the turmoil and baffling situations. He states:

> But is there not morality, though there may be no soul? Yes, the moon may be there though the sun may not be seen. But the light of the moon, you know, is got from the sun and it wanes and waxes and wanes again and there are a great many clouds that hide the light of the pale moon - Kurukshetra. (**Satyam** II: 713)

Thus life being a *Kurukshetra*, or the battle field we need the light of God to avoid chaos.

The view that science cannot help the development of the sense of values in the moral and spiritual realms is not an accepted conclusion, according to the spiritual humanism of Rajaji. The advanced science however advanced, has its limit of dealing only with the material phenomenon, according to the traditionalists. They claim that humanities alone could serve the growth of moral and spiritual values. But the scientist engaged in the advanced scientific research knows very well that there is the world of spirit beyond the extreme. Rajaji states, "Epistemological grounds do not forbid extrapolations in the direction of the spirit. Indeed science tends to develop the extrapolatory imagination of the advanced scientist" (**Satyam** IV: 206).

Thus the scientific quest never forbids the broadening vision of a genuine scientist to look into the basic mystery, surrounding the universe and the unexplainable intricacies of nature.

The faith in God and a religion to worship Him inspires the oneness of humanity and strengthens its bondage as one global family. All great religions were founded by the spiritual founders with humanistic zeal to help the people of the whole world to attain spiritual enlightenment, so that humanity enjoys love, peace and harmony. Especially Hindu scripture according to Rajaji has never narrowed down, the ambit of any prayer to our national boundaries. Rather it cherishes a universal outlook to obtain universal fraternity, peace and harmony. Thus religion thwarts the narrow minded nationalism. If such a bigotry is allowed to sprout, it would grow into weeds of aggression and narrow national pride. So Rajaji the spiritual humanist points out the global duty of a religion beyond the barriers of nationalism. He states:

> Religion is therefore a force for international harmony and peace, for universal brotherhood. It should be a countervailing force against narrow nationalism which is concerned with the interests and the pride, of one nation as against the aggression or competition of other nations. Religion should serve the international purpose of minimizing discord and preventing barbarity and meanness where conflicts break out. (**Satyam** IV: 182)

Thus religion can serve as an international harmonizing force dispelling all discords and combining humanity into one family. Though religion is so capable of unifying humanity, the scientific investigations of the nineteenth century about the infinitely minimal and the infinitely maximum of the physical universe have driven the philosophers to the notion that the universe was not designed, for the utility of

the human race and man is not the centre of the universe. This state of human insignificance began to have a negative impact, on the significance of values and the role of religion in preserving such values. As a corollary, there was a strong faith in the absolute progress of humanity, in the name of humanism. But according to Rajaji, mere humanism may also become worn out, without the base of religion. Science has not only reduced the human significance in the universe, it has potential grave threats to annihilate the human race in the form of nuclear weapons. Rajaji states:

> After the breakdown of religion owing to scientific advance in the nineteenth century a firm belief in the ultimate progress of humanity to a great height functioned as a substitute for the decreasing belief in God. It was given a quasi-religious name, 'humanism'. This too must now melt away as a result of the conclusion stated above about the insignificance of man. To accelerate this process, the great secular plans designed for the betterment of people have shaped themselves into insufferable tyranny instead of leading to happiness. Most serious of all things, science has become a threat to security and even to survival. (**Satyam** IV: 508)

But science cannot be a threat to humanity if the roles of science and religion are comprehended. Rajaji with a pragmatic sensibility describes the roles of science and religion to narrow down the gap between these two realms of human welfare. The "love of truth for its own sake" as inspired by religion and "the spirit of investigation in all its vigour" as promoted by science, need not confront each other.

They can complement each other, according to the spiritual and humanistic vision of Rajaji. Rajaji says, "There are people who look on Science as an enemy to religion. Nothing can be farther from truth or more unjustified. Science, that is truth, is an enemy to Superstition but not to religion" (**Speeches** 324).

The nuclear weapons of the world are capable of annihilating humanity within a few days. According to the leading Historian of America, Henry Steele Commager, the modern nuclear weapons in the possession of world's great powers, pose a fatal threat, to the security of the very survival of the human race.

In 1958 as the result of Rajaji's earnest attempt in opposing the Nuclear Weapon tests, the Head of Soviet Russia Mr. Khruschev got Rajaji's book **Mankind Protests** translated into Russian and widely circulated in his country (Kamat, Chakravarti). Rajaji was happy to know that Russia did suspend unilaterally its nuclear tests. Rajaji remarked, "Russia has taken a Gandhian initiative" (**Voice of the Uninvolved**, 44). In a speech at the Anti-nuclear Arms convention in New Delhi in 1962. Rajaji lambasted the super powers ignoring their moral and spiritual obligation of ending the spread of nuclear radioactivity and poisoning the earth and the atmosphere. Rajaji says, "... the dangers are often played down by specialists engaged by the powers. There is no such thing as a tolerance dose so far as genetic effects are concerned. Any radiation can lead to changes in the germ plasm" (The Problem www.rajaji.net).

As an emissary of the Gandhi Peace Foundation, Rajaji met the US President Kennedy to persuade the super power to implement the nuclear disarmament. Rajaji in the final moments of the interview said, if nuclear weapons can be excluded, the

character of war will change. At any rate, there will not be the terrible prospect of mass destruction which is a matter of great concern to people throughout the world. The impact was so positive on Kennedy who remarked later, that the interview "had a civilizing quality about it" (Raj Mohan Gandhi, **The Rajaji Story** II: 312).

The slaughter and annihilation of civilians, as suitable war targets, had been started in the Second World War. The justification rendered in the use of nuclear bombs, on civilians, in the same war is also taken for granted. Rajaji quotes Mr. Henry's statement as published in the **Washington Post** and republished in **Progressive** and says that the modern warfare has no conscience of distinction between soldiers and civilians. It is an arrogant, callous, all out war, ending in genocide, in a mass scale. Rajaji states, "The old international laws of war were set aside and forgotten. Warfare and *adharma* became synonymous" (**Satyam** IV: 51). Humanity can avoid such a ruthless violence by nurturing a real reverence towards God and His presence in every production of science.

According to Rajaji the agitation or a revolution to achieve a goal in hurry and anxiety, always ends in the sabotage or damage of the national property, roads and other means of communication or the means of production. Such a havoc is played on the welfare of the nation and its budget, that it leads to heavy taxation of the poor mass, to meet the expenses of repair and the revival of these damaged means of communication and production. Rajaji suggests a spiritual and humanistic approach to mitigate and even to nullify this negative trend, by the cultivation of a "reverence" in the minds of the people, towards such means of communications and productions. He says, "Respect for means of communication and means of

production must reach the level of religious reverence. We have to rebuild this reverence" (**Speeches** 168).

Though Science has revealed the truth that the human race may not be the centre of the universe and may be too small, when compared to the huge physical universe, man's mind and spirit are always infinite. There is an eternal link maintained, joining him, with the Almighty, the Lord of the entire universe. The revival of such a faith alone can make the human society function, as one great family. This universal fraternity, can be strengthened and fostered only by the revival of a profound faith, in God and spiritual humanism demands only such a perennial dependence on the immanence of God. Rajaji reiterates:

> The concrete link between God the unseen and man the supreme product of evolution is what has been called *Dharma* by the Indian sages. Let us hold onto this *Dharma* whatever name be given to it by the various nations. (**Satyam** IV: 508-09)

Thus the human race can sustain its significance in the universe with its link with its creator. Moreover the human conduct of goodness and integrity alone will lead us to the Grace of God. Honest money through hard work and honest means help us to get the blessings of God. Human character is so weak that it always attempts to wriggle out of Godly experience and run into the thick of the satiation of carnal pleasures. But Rajaji admonishes that the Grace of God will be available, to only those who have honesty, good conduct, industriousness, love and religious devotion.

Rajaji asserts the truth that God is the proprietor of this universe. Any delay or difficulty occurs according to God's plan. One should have the spiritual enlightenment of understanding the significance of a trial that confronts us. Every trial strengthens our faith in God. So the trial need not be a source of rancour among the people, rather it should be understood as the manifestation of God's immanence. Rajaji consoles saying, "We need not always imagine that every difficulty is the work of Satan. There is no Satan really. It is really the work of God and all our difficulties are God's trials" (**Speeches** 56).

Though the people of various faiths follow various ways to reach the unseen Almighty, He is all pervasive and all powerful. So it is possible for humanity to reach Him through many ways. The wisdom of God impels the Hindus and Muslims to participate in one another's festival. The theologians may think that it is ignorance to participate in other's religious festival. But the prime wisdom in the scripture directs us to consider and believe that all faiths lead to God and all people are our brothers and sisters (**Speeches** 213). Thus Rajaji's spiritual humanism unifies all faiths as various ways of humanity to reach God and to foster a global fraternity.

Rajaji insists on the acquisition of this superior wisdom, to cultivate the sensibility of the Spiritual Humanism, among the Indians, belonging to different faiths. Rajaji states,

> I give you my own personal assurance that to me every mosque, every church, every temple is equally sacred. If in Banaras we see on the banks of the Ganga not only temples but also mosques we must treat

> them all as equally sacred whatever may have been their history. Let us forget what has happened in the past, let us behave as brothers and sisters towards one another hereafter. (**Speeches** 213)

As a statesman of lofty ideals Rajaji opined that being a young democracy India's progress was watched by various global statesmen with goodwill and good wishes. So he exhorted the people of India, to rise up to the occasion and to show a strong cohesiveness and solidarity resulting in absolute cooperation and progress in all fronts. Rajaji advocates that the nation could prosper only with the Grace of God and nothing else could unify the people of India. As a spiritual humanist Rajaji says:

> We are all of us together in a very great adventure and the eyes of statesmen all over the world are upon us watching with interest and goodwill. May God give us strength and faith in one another? Without uttermost cooperation and the grace of God, we cannot overcome our difficulties. May God grant all section of our people the vision required for this uttermost cooperation? (**Speeches** 268).

Devotion enhances the spirit of all good services to a form of piety and worship. One's devotion to his work is a great worship to God according to Rajaji. Mere ambition will fail, but true devotion with earnest hard work will pave the way for a selfless service to humanity and its welfare. Hatred and disharmony are basically useless and opposed to devotion and piety. Rajaji says, "All high enterprises require devotion. Nothing is gained by disorder, by contumely, by grouses, by heat without light, if I may say so" (**Speeches** 290).

Rajaji the spiritual humanist reflects that the human values were conserved in Religion as a storehouse and religion in the old days functioned as the repertoire of values, automatically followed by the pious religious persons. Rajaji states, "In the old days, a sense of values was automatically conserved by widespread belief that may be described succinctly by the term religion" (**Speeches** 203).

Religion as a repertoire of spiritual values was embedded in the ancient Hindu religious thought and its seers adopted a scientific spirit eschewing the dogmatic approach to their subject. They considered religion, as an eternal search for truth. They did not accept that religion was a body of dogmas. This approach of quest for truth according to Rajaji best suits the modern times and its complexities. With a true reverence, multiple approaches to find the truth and ways of worship were admitted in Hinduism.

The mundane activities should go on and every individual should conduct himself with genuine commitment to his duty entrusted to him. He should perform that work utilizing all his skills with prudence. Though he works like other people, who work for their selfish ends, the spiritual humanist or a good man of spiritualism should maintain an innate detachment. He should have a spirit of selflessness towards the fruits of his own labour. Though the results of his sacrifice may yield good results to the society and not to his advantage, the good man should lead a pure life of detachment and unselfishness. Rajaji pronounces the synthesis of **The Gita** to bolster his spiritual humanistic vision as follows:

> The good man bears in mind always that within him and in every object in the world dwells the supreme soul. He is constantly in prayer

> to keep his mind free from lust, anger and personal desire. He looks upon all work as noble which is necessary of performance for the maintenance and welfare of society. A good man regulates his work, food, recreation and pleasures. He does not lose heart seeing difficulties and maintains courage and equanimity when succeeding or losing, leaving results in the hands of God. (**Speeches** 173)

Rajaji recommends tolerance among all faiths, as the only positive approach to spread goodwill, love and peace among their followers. He points out that the central teaching of **The Bhagavad Gita** elucidates the significance of the conviction that all faiths lead to God. This conviction eschews arrogance and instils humility and tolerance as a positive approach. Dogmatism leads to such arrogance and destroys tolerance. Rajaji states:

> The Gita says with reference to forms of faith that every faith leads to Iswara and so one should not be proud or arrogant. There is a great difference between a positive approach and a mere negative approach of live and let-live. I hope that the sitting of this Congress of faiths in our country will result in special emphasis on and attention to this aspect of tolerance. (**Speeches** 320)

According to Rajaji religious bigotry was unknown to the forefathers of Hinduism. They were never intolerant to other faiths rather they welcomed all scriptures of other faiths, as many ways to reach God. The spiritual and humanistic concern of Hinduism, never allowed its followers to indulge in narrow minded fanaticism. Rajaji exhibits this spiritual zeal of Hinduism thus:

> When water is added to milk, milk gets adulterated. Similarly Hinduism has been diluted by the ignorance of those who came. In defending the broadmindedness and the large doctrines of our forefathers, we have become narrow-minded and fanatical. It is as absurd as saying that in preserving charity we must adopt stinginess, that in preserving beauty we must make it ugly. In defending and conserving the spirit of tolerance, we have become intolerant. Let us drop this wrong path. (**Speeches** 170)

Thus with a profound spiritual vision of religious tolerance, Rajaji corroborates that Hinduism accepts tolerance as a positive attitude shown towards other religions. The primary humanistic concern of Hinduism is to establish fellowship among various faiths. In **The Gita** there is a strong assertion of this truth that all forms of worship lead to God. This universal outlook of worship strengthens the human bondage and fosters the unity and fellowship among various faiths. Rajaji expresses this global vision of spiritual humanism thus:

> In our religion, in our Bhagwat Gita, there is particular emphasis laid on this truth, namely that all paths lead to God, it is made an article of faith that you should believe this among other things, that whatever may be the form of worship which a man may follow, God is reached by him even as you reach through the method prescribed in the Hindu scripture. This is a part of the Hindu faith itself. (**Speeches** 320)

The freedom struggle nurtured a sense of hatred towards other nations, other than our own and towards other communities, other than our own. Gandhi taught us

to eschew such a mind set of animosity and to voluntarily exhibit one's love as a unilateral step with a spiritual and humanistic productivity. This is the spiritual humanism, India should show in precept and practice, according to Rajaji's humanistic vision. Rajaji articulates:

> Being hated, do not give way to hating as Kipling said. The great doctrine of love and trust, even where you do not get favourable response at once, is the pivot on which all that Gandhiji taught rested. That was the fixed doctrine round which all his great activities turned. If we have no faith in this doctrine of unilateral effort for love, we forswear all the homage we paid to Gandhiji when he was alive. (**Speeches** 168)

The spiritual humanism of Rajaji's vision sees the universal harmony and oneness among all the faiths and their respective literature. The comprehension of the classical humanism or the noble thoughts of Greece and Rome in turn will help our youngsters to grasp the truth and imbibe the philosophy, tradition and culture of India without much strain. Rajaji says,

> Let our boys be encouraged to interest themselves in the literature of Christianity, Judaism and Islam and the classics of Greece and Rome. Then, no one need ask them but they will recapture for themselves the Vedanta, for it is still available for recapture by anyone born in India and blessed with enlightened pride. ... Not by total exclusion of all religion and spiritual thought and by all embracing acquaintance and

> appreciation of spiritual thought of all kinds, shall we be safe and shape ourselves properly. (**Speeches** 254)

The spiritual preaching's of seers of all faiths focus on one realization that all are brothers and sisters depending on the mercy of God our Father and Mother. This is the common objective of all religions, according to Rajaji's Vision of Spiritual Humanism. The animosity and strife sown among various ways of worship by jealousy and hatred only make us bestial and inhuman and altogether ending in absolute disharmony. Rajaji exhorts:

> Let us not behave like our buffaloes who, when taken to a clean pool of water, stir it up and bring up the slime and enjoy themselves in it. Religion should not become a war-cry. It should be a slogan for love and compassion and friendliness and cooperation with all living beings. (**Speeches** 267)

Hinduism respected other great religions with respect paid veneration to all the saints and seers of other religions. It recognized the truth that many roads lead to the Almighty. It believes that all religions take us to God. This universal, spiritual outlook of Hinduism certainly provides a strong deterrent to extreme nationalism, which could be detrimental to universal fraternity and harmony. Rajaji points out:

> Religion is a check on excessive selfishness, a check on excessive family attachment, a check on excessive caste or community attachment. It should be a check on excessive class conflict. And it should be a check on excessive nationalism also. (**Satyam** IV: 183)

The Spiritual Humanism of Rajaji's vision hails a strong bondage and fellowship among various religions. Hinduism is unique in accepting all religions as various ways, leading to God. This universal acceptance of all religions, by Hinduism paves the way, for universal brotherhood. Thus it strives to eliminate any ill will among various religions.

Rajaji, the spiritual humanist strongly invokes all the Hindus to practise this "Catholicity" innate in Hinduism. This noble unilateral move by the Hindus would strengthen the fellowship, among the Indian people of different faiths. He advocates:

> Anti-Islam, anti-Christianity, or anti- any other faith, is a rebellion against the Catholicity of the Hindu faith and a disobedience hurled at the Hindu Sages. Whether one is anti- anything must be a matter for one's own inner judgement. And therefore every Hindu has a sacred and serious duty to examine his own heart and purge himself. (**Dear Reader** 320)

Such a unilateral move would create a world of great tolerance among various faiths. This will revolutionize the very religious thinking of the world to get rid of even the external semblance of intolerance. Rajaji advocates that the tolerance of Hinduism should be manifested on the banks of Ganges, where all faiths have been attracted. He exudes much confidence and utters:

> We will revolutionize religious thought in the world. Kasi is a place with particular sacred associations and attractions. All religions are attracted here. If you see a mosque on the banks of the Ganga, do not

> feel angry. It is but right that Islam also should come and settle down on the banks of Ganga. The children of a mother do not look upon the new born as an intruder but as a brother. Ganga can bear any number of children. (**Speeches** 170)

The faith in God and His reign according to Rajaji, thwarts any attempt, even at the outset to disrupt the social cohesion. Such a spiritual faith is the basis for mutual trust, morality and perfect conduct, which strengthen the social cooperation of people with social harmony in a nation. The faith in God prevents all sorts of social divisions and class wars. Rajaji asserts as a spiritual humanist that the believers in class wars like communists anticipated this result of the faith in God and termed religion "an opiate". Because they considered religion as a blockade to their use of class war as the principal weapon, to succeed in a social revolution (**Satyam** I: 116-17). But spiritual humanism never sanctions any kind of social dissension, on the basis of class wars. Rajaji convinces us of the potentiality of faith in God and states:

> A belief in God and His governance stood in the way of all class wars. The communists, therefore, who believed in the class war basis as the inevitable weapon of revolution, looked upon religion as an impediment and made it their earliest target of attack. (**Satyam** I: 116)

Rajaji directs humanity to rely on devotion and prayer to get the Vision of God. Rajaji clarifies that the scholarship in religious scriptures like Gita, does not denote one's piety or faith in God. The intellectual possession of religious

knowledge cannot help us to attain the vision of divinity. It is only through prayer and through piety or *Bhakti* one can obtain the vision of God. A monkey skilful in performing many tricks, however dressed like a gentleman and sometimes even behaving more gently than a gentleman, the monkey remains a monkey in reality. Rajaji's sarcasm exposes the difference between the illusion and reality or the precept and the practice. He explains:

> The monkey does it all not because it knows it is good, but because it is compelled to do it and has learnt it. One's external equipment and learning may be all just that of a religious man, but the question is whether your mind is devoted to God apart from learning. (**Satyam** II: 934)

Mere display of religious learning, will not take us nearer to God. Only the self-realization that God the Father and Mother is always with us and around us in every action of our life. This realization alone could win us the vision of the Almighty's omnipresence.

Rajaji suggests a practicable step to settle any personal quarrel in front of God since He alone is capable of washing it off. The presence of God's grace dissolves all the human differences, emanating from various ways of worship. Rajaji with a profound sense of faith in God advises:

> One thing is necessary. Whatever religion you belong to, keep faith in that religion. If you have a little temple here, look after that temple. If you feel quarrelsome, go at once to that temple. And if you still have any quarrel in your mind, ask God to wash it out. (**Speeches** 326)

Besides worship in a holy place, work becomes worship. The fulfilment of one's own proper duty is the real worship of God. One can do his work every day, to attain the supreme goal of becoming, one with God. Rajaji manifests the actualization of this message in the daily life of Brother Lawrence, a cook who served in the Carmelite monastery. Rajaji describes the humility and nobility of Brother Lawrence thus:

> It was in this way that Brother Lawrence lived and worked as a cook serving the Fathers with whom he lived. He scrubbed and washed, bathed and dressed, talked and laughed and sang and slept, ever in the company of God as a beloved comrade. The grace of God was upon Brother Lawrence and he was in worship and yet outsiders saw nothing but the ordinary tasks of the day done by him as others did them. This sort of life is just what the Gitacharya teaches. (**Satyam** I: 47)

Thus the selfless, but joyful commitment of the soul in the fulfilment of the daily duty for the welfare and happiness of others is the central precept of the spiritual humanism. Brother Lawrence practised this precept and offered his daily duty, as a humble worship to God.

Rajaji the spiritual humanist yearns for the great teachers, like Socrates, Jesus, the Buddha and Ramakrishna, to guide humanity in the path of righteousness and to attain the innate bliss of the soul, by abnegating selfishness. Such a teacher is, basically a spiritual humanist, who remains unknown, never works for fame and never nurses a private pleasure in becoming known as a great teacher. Rajaji states,

"The teacher does not strive for greatness. He strives for righteousness. The truly righteous man must remain unknown" (**Satyam** I: 65).

Tiruvalluvar a great Tamil Poet-Sage in his monumental **Tirukkural**, a compendium of eternal, spiritual and moral values in the form of couplets, sternly regulates human life in all its spheres including state craft. The state craft can never be alienated from *Dharma*. If separated, it will lead to utter social chaos and moral turpitude, resulting in anarchy and distress. To save humanity from such a catastrophe, Rajaji the spiritual humanist explains Tiruvalluvar's concept of the inevitable role of *Dharma* in one's personal life and a society's public life. He states:

> Tiruvalluvar, like other Indian Saints, did not believe that state craft and *dharma* could be separated. The well-known Indian doctrine handed down from the Rishis is that *artha* and *kama* should ever be associated with *dharma*. If dissociated, the hunt for *artha* and *kama* would be sinful. Tiruvalluvar was no dissenter from this ancient doctrine.
>
> There is no greater wealth one can claim than *dharma* and no misfortune greater than the forgetting of it. Go as far as strength and resources permit without swerving from the path of *dharma*. Keep the mind from evil thoughts. This is the whole of *dharma*. The rest is only the nature of sound and show. (**Satyam** I: 576)

Rajaji's rendering of the selections from Book I and II of Tiruvalluvar's **Tirukkural** in English encomprises, the couplets on *Dharma* or the eternal divine

law, regulating human conduct and character to lead a pure spiritual and humanistic life in the world. The avoidance of the following four evils namely jealousy, zealous thirst for pleasures, indignation and unparliamentary speech leads to an austere and true spiritual life. If these four evils are discarded by an individual and society, humanity could rejoice in love, peace and fraternity and bliss. Rajaji explains, "True religious life consists in avoidance of four things: envy, the craving for pleasure, anger and harsh speech" (**Kural** 2).

One must serve humanity with a humanistic and spiritual compassion without any procrastination, for anyone's life is so uncertain. Rajaji renders the pertaining couplet and states, "Do that which is good without delay, for you must do it before the tongue fails and the last hiccup seizes you" (**Kural** 56).

The righteous and altruistic fulfillment of one's duty or *Dharma* leads to a "Dharmic polity". The possessive nature always having an eye on other's belongings paves the way for a "Satanic polity". The acquiring of a property according to "Dharmic polity" should be through honest means and everyone should look upon other's property without envy and with a noble sense of sacredness. This "Dharmic polity" formulates the foundation of civilization. Without this there cannot be an evolution of a civilized ordered society. Rajaji expresses his strong conviction in this "Dharmic Polity" thus:

> Without the recognition of the sacredness of property, there can be no ordered society, no freedom, no incentive to work, no progress, no civilization. Therefore, was guaranteed in the constitution

> the right to work, to acquire and to hold and freedom from expropriation. (**Satyam** III: 31)

After providing a commendable elucidation of Shri Sankara's **Bhaja Govindam**, Rajaji, the humanist, reminds humanity of its bounden duty to preserve *Dharm*a and *Bakti* as invaluable social assets. Society can retain its welfare only on mutual cooperation and the righteous performance of one's duty, as a mission abiding by one's conscience. Rajaji says:

> *Dharma* and *Bhakti* are society's precious assets. Having allowed these precious assets to be lost, we suffer in various ways. To rectify this sad state of affairs, unconcerned about what others do or do not do, each one of us must act according to the dictates of his conscience - that is the command of the God in the heart. If this can be done, even as little drops of water make a big downpour, dharma will grow and society and the country will prosper. (**Bhaja Govindam** 62)

Spiritual humanism besides regulating one's personal mundane aspirations inspires one, to purify one's soul by curbing one's selfishness and improve the cleanliness of mind and soul by self-control. Rajaji gives the guidelines of Gita as follows:

> What are these efforts? 1) Do your allotted duties properly and unselfishly. Duties come to you by reason of your fitness, by your place in society or by accident. Do always what is good for others. Hesitate when what you do is for your own good and consider whether it is good for others around you. 2) Do not be disturbed by

> success or defeat. Think of God who guides and orders everything or who alone knows what is ultimately good. Remember that others are as much children of the universal mothers as you are. 3) Keep your senses of pleasure under control. Regulate your daily routine so that the purity of your mind is not disturbed. 4) Always remember that the mind is the chief fortress. If you let it go you lose the battle. Impure or selfish thoughts hand over the mind-fort to the enemy. 5) Periodically meditate on God and surrender yourself to the Father-Mother. (**Satyam** II: 945)

Thus Rajaji illuminates humanity, that mere memory of the teachings of The Gita will not help us, to attain spiritual vision of God. It is the earnest effort, to live these noble teachings and constancy in practicing them alone would take us, to the spiritual enlightenment, which is the end of the life's journey. Rajaji says that **The Gita** is not a text-book meant for an intellectual analysis and examination. It demands one's spiritual dedication, to regulate one's worldly activities and to constantly purify one's mind. He conveys:

> It is not a book for study and examination as a text-book. It is a book that tells men how to regulate their activities and their minds. It is like a railway guide. It is a guide-book for the journey of life. We should travel with its help, not commit it to memory. Merely committing it to memory will not enable us to reach the journey's end. (**Satyam** II: 945)

The teaching of **The Gita** manifests the Hindu *dharma* practicable in everyone's life. At times of anxiety and uncertainty, **The Gita**'s doctrine helps one, to get a clarification for his dilemma in performing, one's duty in life. According to Rajaji there are two vital spiritual principles, stressed by **The Bhagavad Gita**. They are *Swadharma* or the "law of reality in the determination, what one's duty is" and *Nishkamakarma* or "one's detachment in the fulfilment of the duty, undertaken with conviction" (**Speeches** 281).

Rajaji explains that, duty cannot be defined in absolute terms. It is wrong to interpret, *Swadharma* as a doctrine supporting the divisions in the caste system. One's duty is determined by its "environment and context". Relativity is a universal rule which has an influence on everything in this globe. Duty cannot be the same for everyone, in different contexts. Rajaji asserts:

> The Gita lays down a doctrine of relativity for *Dharma*. Just as Einstein has given the doctrine of relativity to quality physical motion with the new conception of space-time, the Gita lays down that duty depends on desha and kala and one's function." (**Speeches** 282)

Thus **The Bhagavad Gita** preaches the equality of all kinds of work, for the betterment of society. Rajaji states, "The work to which you are born, though involving defects, ought not to be abandoned. All undertakings, indeed, are clouded by defects as fire by smoke" (**Speeches** 282). Every duty is noble, honourable, dignified and equal in the eyes of the Almighty. The determination of one's duty is fixed by one's position.

Rajaji suggests India, a return to its past glory since the West has triggered off a mad race, for material wealth, disregarding the spiritual quest for tranquility, friendship and universal fraternity. The soulless use of the technical advancement, in the atomic age has led the west, to embrace the law of the jungle. The western nations are reduced to the degraded status of Adam and Eve, after their fall. Aimlessly they grope in darkness and, lead a life of mere biological existence. In Rajaji's conviction, such nations conduct a cold war and sometimes even a hot war using the fatal poisonous gas affecting the whole world, which never has offended them. India should avoid such a soulless influence of the Western nations and begin to take a recourse to its ancient genius, which teaches the propagation of *Shanti* or tranquility. Rajaji professes his faith in the spirit within and says, "The genius of India is *Shanti*, tranquility and her mission in this world is the conquest of fear by the strength of the spirit within. Let us by denying the spirit or by a chronic process of ignoring it, kill it" (**Satyam** III).

Rajaji, the spiritual humanist, welcomes human progress in the fields of Science and Technology and in Space Research. But he strikes a sad note on humanity's inability, to stay as one Great Family. Juxtaposed to its tremendous control over Nature and its other beings, humanity's weakness persists in dividing itself into many races and nationalities, on the basis of colour and other classifications. Rajaji's vision clamours for a homogeneous unification of all nationalities into a single family of people and one World, dissolving all racial and commercial inequalities. Rajaji discloses his humanistic vision of one world and one humanity thus:

> These racial and national conflicts must terminate and a new epoch should begin for the world. All tariff hurdles and regulations devised by nationalism to keep mankind divided contrary to the goal of one world and a single people, must end. Some people somewhere must begin this great fight against almost universal stupidity. (**Satyam** IV: 373)

Addressing the refugees in the Refuge Town at Jaipur, Rajaji, the Governor General of India, proclaimed the pivotal paradigm of spiritual humanism namely the oneness of Human Family, founded on compassion, sympathy, forgiveness and love. He says:

> Do not think of what has happened. Think only of what you are doing, namely the extension of human feeling, compassion and sympathy towards those who are in difficulty. The human family is one. We are all likely to commit mistakes. Let us forgive one another and let us remember the great truth that love will correct everything, that sympathy will rebuild everything that is destroyed. (**Speeches** 212)

According to Rajaji's spiritual vision, Mahatma Gandhi, following the footsteps of the Rishis left us a *Mantra* or a fervent prayer, spreading goodwill and religious fellowship through faith in God. God has both names, namely Ishwar and Allah. The *Gayatri Mantra* handed over by the Rishis and the Mahatma's *Mantra* "*Ishwar Allah Tere Nam*" should be kept in our minds and hearts with equal devotion. God can be called by numerous names, since He is omnipresent, omnipotent and omniscient. So He can be termed by umpteen names. A slight

dishonour shown to other's way of worship only brings dishonour to one's own faith and God. Rajaji states, "If anyone dishonours a man who worships God in a particular way, he dishonours and insults his own God. That is why Bapu asked the people to sing *Ishwar Allah Tere Nam*" (**Speeches** 218).

The Bible, **The Koran** and **The Gita** are lighting the spiritual passage, like lamps in one's hands, according to Rajaji's spiritual and humanistic vision. One's own shadows may create the darkness on the path like, temptations and trials afflicting the human life. But the lamp's light will drive away the total darkness, helping one's progress on the path of righteousness, to reach the Almighty. This attempt certainly spreads goodwill and forges into a right social conduct. With a profound sense of accepting the enlightening spiritualism in all the scriptures Rajaji proclaims:

> The Bible, the Koran and the Gita are like lamps that light our paths in darkness. We cast own shadows on our path in spite of the lantern in our hands; so every besetting temptation, - doubt, fear or difficulty throws its dark shadow, in spite of the light we carry; and the way is a chequered pattern of light and shadow. Still holding the light firmly in our hands we may walk fairly safely. (**Bhagavad Gita** 120)

According to Rajaji in **The Upanishads**, verses I and II embody the solemn declaration of three vital attitudes of sacred men, to attain salvation. They should have a self realization, that this worldly life is a golden chance, to preserve their purity of soul, by good deeds. If they kill their souls, their life will be a place of utter darkness, like a world without the Sun to give light. Secondly, the people

should know that all that makes the world is His. So they should satisfy themselves and enjoy what belongs to them. They should not covet what belongs to others. Thirdly, the only way to live in this world is by doing work. There is no other way sanctioned by God to lead our lives. So, basically one should live by work, without any attachment to the profits and benefits accruing from doing that work (**Satyam** III: 30-31).

Rajaji the spiritual humanist dismantles the hidden "conspiracy" of the middle and upper classes. The "conspiracy" is to disallow the poor people, who labour hard to lead a better life with the small earning, they can get. Rajaji asserts his support for the poor, as a spiritual mission of *dharma.* He states:

> I feel that if the man who produces rice and wheat and maize and the man who weaves and digs and toils, receive the genuine sympathy of people who work in other spheres of life and their toil is properly valued and certain illusions as to the value of intellectual work are set aside, all will be well in this land of *Dharma*. (**Speeches** 106)

Rajaji stresses the humanistic concern of every religion which promotes the cause of orphans with equal importance. It helps the hapless on one hand and gets the donor nearer to God on the other hand. Charity brings grace of God to all the good people, who provide shelter and food to the orphans. Rajaji says, "They may pray in different languages, they may kneel in different ways, but all religions teach that we should help orphans and thereby get nearer to God" (**Speeches** 162).

Rajaji's spirituality directs the younger generation to find solace in their lives by relying on God. He admonishes them to nurture a spiritual awareness of God's

everlasting presence and each one's spiritual obligation, to conscientiously follow God's will, in private life or in public life. Rajaji advises:

> Young men and girls like you cannot have peace. You must always be working. Never do anything which you would not like to confess publicly. Whether in private or in public, remember that God is present with you and you cannot deceive Him and if you think you can deceive Him for the time being, you will have to pay back with double interest afterwards. (**Speeches** 328)

If each person in a society exercised a real self-control over his/her senses, then the whole society could be more humane and cultured. Rajaji reiterates that any religion through spiritual worships helps the people control their senses and avoid overindulgence. Religion through its piety or *bhakti* helps people attain the highest bliss through spiritual enlightenment and experience of God's immanence. Rajaji says:

> Religion too gives joy while it helps self-control. The Bhakti types of religion in particular give intense joy-pleasure of a high order. The churches and temples with their impressive atmosphere and beauty help to keep men off from over-indulgence of the power to derive pleasures from the senses. They serve to prevent the vicious over contemplation of pleasures even when not enjoying them. (**Our Culture** 5)

Humanity can make its community life happy and more pleasant by avoiding three vices namely, "meanness, dishonesty and cruelty", according to Rajaji's

spiritual and humanistic vision. Culture embodies this avoidance of these three evils. Such a culture enhances human welfare and its happiness through social cohesiveness, in community life. Rajaji reiterates saying, "If you are mean, false, or cruel, everyone will know it and know you are not a cultured man or woman. Do unto others as you would be done by. This is the essence of culture in word, action" (**Our Culture** 8).

Truth brings solace to the soul and untruth offers "spiritual death". This "spiritual death" will certainly retard and block the human progress towards its goal of establishing universal fraternity, love and peace. Such a "spiritual death" will dry the springs of spiritual humanism which aims for the realization of the above mentioned noble goal. Rajaji explains, "We cannot employ untruth as a servant without paying the heavy wage it demands, viz. spiritual death" (**Hinduism** 25).

If there is a constant disharmony between the spiritual principles and the worldly actions, the human mind will be irreparably damaged. Then the human progress and its civilization would meet colossal defeats. Rajaji quotes Sir Walter Scott, who writes in his personal journal, as follows, "The adaptation of religious motives to earthly policy is apt among the infinite delusion of the human heart - to be a snare." Rajaji condemns this kind of truism, floated that the basic axioms of religion and politics are irreconcilable and so, let them be in their own respective "pigeon holes" (**Hinduism** 24).

This alienation of politics from religion is further handed down to the posterity, through the wrong indoctrination of the juvenile minds of the children, that religious principles are not at all practicable in the political life. Rajaji

condemns such an alienation of religion from politics. He wants to do away with the propagation of such a disharmony between religion and politics. He warns:

> It has been, throughout the ages considered reasonable and wise to resort to various forms of self-deception to carry in one mind the load of these two isolated disciplines of worldly wisdom and religion. Worse still, it is also considered wise to practise fraud on the minds of our children for the purpose of handing this scheme of isolation down to the next generation. (**Hinduism** 24)

The sickening disparity between the spiritual principles and the mundane activities would jeopardize the primary asset of any society, namely the total consciousness of the minds of the people. If this valuable property is destroyed there is little hope to head for any human progress, according to Rajaji. So he advocates an elimination of this disparity between the principles of religion and those of politics, in order to promote the human progress in all its fronts. Rajaji laments:

> The injury done by disharmony is to the mind, which is the thinking and feeling machine - the very engine-room in the power-house of human energy. When the Engine is damaged, what else can we expect but serious injury to the cause of human progress?.Even if we look upon civilization as a business concern, its most precious capital asset is the sum-total of the minds of its men and women. (**Hinduism** 25)

The effort and strain involved in one's endeavour, to attain spiritual enlightenment, helps him remove the sinful desire and cleanse his character. This

spiritual attempt of purifying one's soul, leads to the identity of one's self with the universe and its objects and beings. Rajaji sees this universal identity, in the Tamil poet Bharathi's humanistic vision and reveals it in his own translation in English thus:

> The crow and the sparrow are my kin,
> The wide seas and hills are my clan,
> Whatever I see, wherever my eyes turn,
> I see my own flesh and blood,
> I see myself in every being around,
> Oh what boundless joy! (**Hinduism** 77).

This state of "ecstasy" makes the enlightened person to identify as one with all the creation and all life in the universe. Such a spiritual and a humanistic vision enlarges the scope to further the human progress and to promote human welfare, removing all sorts of narrow-mindedness and bigotry with a strong sense of detachment.

Like Bharathi's universal outlook the *Vedantin* takes the whole universe as his abode and all the living beings as his family members. His vision is spiritual and humanistic in serving all with a sense of joy and detachment. He is a global citizen engaged in a heroic war against evil in a non-violent way. Rajaji says:

> A soldier in the army does not wish to know the names and particulars of the people who will benefit by his bravery and death. The *Vedantin* is a citizen of the world and a soldier in the world's army in a totally

> non-martial but no less heroic war against evil, the more heroic since he seeks no personal reward. (**Hinduism** 99)

Such a philosophy of a *Vedantin* or *Vedanta* provides a firm base for a happy understanding between science and religion. It advocates replacing human disharmony and indifference by human love and happiness. *Vedanta* directs humanity to found its economic reforms on sound moral principles and cultural values for a total economic success, leading to global human welfare. If the bureaucratic pressure on people has to be endured and a harmonious voluntary cooperation of the citizens has to be supportive of the Government's policies and actions in a civilized way, then *Vedanta* certainly offers its spiritual guidance and strength to sustain the humanistic values of the human society (**Hinduism** 100-101). Rajaji states:

> Vedanta offers a religious faith that can have no quarrel with the scientists who work in the laboratory or with the geologists who do research in the history of the physical world and yet it offers a firm spiritual foundation for the just polity of a new world. (**Hinduism** 101)

Truth is considered to be the one and only road leading to God who is truth incarnate. **The Upanishads** reiterate this spiritual enlightenment to dawn upon the minds of the people following the footsteps of the holy seers. The sages walk on this pathway of detachment to reach God the ultimate abode of truth. Rajaji elucidates the spiritual direction provided by **The Upanishads** to attain perfect bliss

by acquiring the basic virtues as enshrined in **The Upanishads** as translated by Rajaji into English. His rendering follows thus:

> Truth penance, understanding and purity are essential requisites for this revelation of the Brahman within. When the heart is cleansed, Brahman is revealed and He is seen shining like a burning light within oneself. (**Upanishads** 61)

The *yogi* reveals a child's innocence and a madman's carelessness about the world. His joy is a happy blend of these two attitudes. The *Yogi* attains this state of heavenly bliss, by treading the path of devotion and keeping the purity of his mind in tact. Shri Sankara sings of such a *Yogic* bliss in his **Bhaja Govindam**, verse No. 22. Rajaji's Tamil version of **Bhaja Govindam** rendered in English by Prof. P. Sankaranarayanan, reads thus:

> Sri Sankara sings of God intoxication and the bliss of the men that have received the light: Clad in rags picked from the street, treading the path beyond good and evil, not caring to earn merit by good and never doing evil, lost in meditation, the yogi reveals in the supreme and plays sometimes like a child and sometimes behaves like one mad. (**Bhaja Govindam** 35)

The Mahabharata and **The Ramayana**, the two great epics of India, have been exercising interminable formative influence, on the character of the majority of the Indian humanity. They speak of the trials and tribulations, the defeats and victories of the heroic lives, with all their defects and merits. According to Rajaji, they form the "national character". He says:

> A word or phrase about Falstaff or uncle Toby carries Englishmen a word of significance which it does not to others. Similarly, a word or phrase about Hanuman, Bhima, illiterate alike, a significance all its own, of which an English rendering cannot convey even a fraction to outsiders, however interested in Indian mythology and folklore. (**Mahabharata**, Preface, 3)

Rajaji reiterates that **The Mahabharata** has shaped the character and heritage of India through its "Gospel of *dharma"*. It established the spiritual foundation of Indian people, as one of the largest sections of humanity in the world (**Mahabharata**, Preface 3).

The numerous characters drawn on a large canvas, all stand for specific spiritual values, though they have their own blemishes too. Bhishma represents the perfect knighthood; Drona commands veneration as a Guru, Karna symbolizes chivalry and loyalty in vain. Duryodhana stands for a tremendous courage in the face of utter defeat, besides representing arrogant pride and the Pandavas signify nobility and purity of souls and patience in adversity. Draupadi represents a queen of the most miserable plight. Kunti depicts the dilemma of the virtuous mother of Pandavas the heroes. Gandari is the loyal wife of Dhritarashtra and the unfortunate mother of the villainous Kauravas (**Mahabharata**, Preface 5-6).

Rajaji earnestly exhorts the people, to be familiar with these two epics since they stand as the epitome of our Indian heritage and spiritual values, so that posterity, could sustain these treasures, as fountains of human values. Rajaji proclaims, "Thorough familiarity with our ancient heritage is necessary if we desire

to preserve our individuality as a nation and serve the world through *dharma* which alone can save mankind from error and extinction" (**Mahabharata**, Preface 11).

The spiritual tryst with Lord Krishna reveals the compendium of the core of spiritual values and human values. They form the guiding force of Hinduism, as a way of life under the title **The Bhagavad Gita**. Arjuna represents the vacillating humanity at the cross roads of human predicament, unaware of the right choice, to lead to God's wisdom. Lord Krishna represents the embodiment of that divine wisdom. When both the armies were ready for fearsome clash, Arjuna got agitated over the impending mutual human slaughter and the destruction of the kith and the kin, on both sides in the name of war. Krishna quells his anxiety, dispels his confusion and impels Arjuna with the words of Divine Wisdom known as **The Bhagavad Gita**. It teaches the spiritual and humanistic philosophy of one's interminable devotion, to one's own duty and without any attachment on its reward. Thus profound sense of devotion to one's duty and one's detachment results in everlasting inner happiness of the individual. It leads to the perennial human bliss through the multiplying of such noble, altruistic, individuals. Such a steadfast devotion to one's duty and the adamantine detachment to the benefits accruing from the performance of the duty provide the bedrock, for the spiritual humanism as a golden principle, to promote human fraternity, happiness and welfare. Rajaji states:

> Krishna's exhortation to Arjuna at this juncture is the Bhagavad Gita which is enshrined in millions of hearts as the Word of God and is acknowledged by all as one of the supreme treasures of human

> literature. Its gospel of devotion to duty, without attachment or desire of reward, has shown the way of life for all men, rich or poor, learned or ignorant, who have sought for light in the dark problems of life. (**Mahabharata** 206)

The Ramayana is a part of Indian mythology and civilization. Religion and mythology become inseparable and **The Ramayana** is to India what is Homer's **Iliad** and **Odyssey** to Greece. They will eternally stay as embodiments of spiritual mythology, in all the languages of the civilized world, according to Rajaji's vision. Rajaji says:

> Greece - the Greece we all admire - is gone, but Homer's 'Iliad' and 'Odyssey' remain and will remain for ever, not only in Greek but in all the languages of the civilized world. So also will Valmiki's Ramayana live in all the tongues of civilized people whatever may happen to India and its politics. (**Ramayana** 8)

Ahalya, the beautiful wife of Sage Gautama was seduced by Indra who deceived her in the disguise of Gautama. Indra was cursed by Gautama, to become a eunuch and Ahalya had to live on air, unseen by anyone, till Rama's arrival into the Aashram or the abode of Gautama. After undergoing a rigorous penitent life, even the sinner's mortal sin, is forgiven by God. This hope of redemption of one's soul from the impurity of a heinous sin is revealed by Ahalya's episode in **The Ramayana**. Instilling this positive faith in the immanence of God, Rajaji states:

> The lesson of the Ahalya episode is that, however deadly one's sin, one may hope to be freed from its consequence by penitence and punishment. Instead of condemning others for their sins, we should look within our own hearts and try to purify them of every evil thought. The best of us have need for eternal vigilance, if we would escape sin. This is the moral of Ahalya's error. (**Ramayana** 42)

Bharata urged Rama to return to Ayodhya and be the king. But Rama declined to ascend the throne. Seeing this conflict between the two incarnations of *Dharma* the sage, Vasishtha, concludes, "O Bharata, rule the kingdom under Rama's authority and as his deputy. No blame would attach to you then and the pledge would be kept" (**Ramayana** 124-25).

After Rama's offer of the kingdom to Bharata as a gift, Bharata paid his humble obeisance. With deep devotion to Rama, Bharata with a profound sense of detachment, took the sandals of Rama, as the symbol of Rama's authority and vowed to stay to lead a penitent life, at Nandigrama near Ayodhya for fourteen years. Bharata says:

> Brother, you are my father and my God. Your least wish is my *dharma*. Give me your sandals that token of yours shall reign in Ayodhya till you return. And for fourteen years I shall stay outside the city and discharge the king's duties in your place, paying reverent homage to your sandals. At the end of that period, you will return and accept the kingship. (**Ramayana** 125)

Thus Bharata became an icon of the dictum of **The Bhagavad Gita** that everyone should perform one's duty, without any desire on its rewards. This spiritual enlightenment, forms the basis of the spiritual and humanistic vision, leading to universal brotherhood and bliss.

Rajaji exhorts the brave among men to help the women in misery by drawing the illustration of Hanuman. Sita suffered forced isolation from her husband Rama and was tormented in Asoka garden. Disclosing Sita's agony and Hanuman's heroism, Rajaji the humanist exhorts, "All the women in our land who suffer sorrow in any way are so many replicas of Sita, may all the men be, like Hanuman, pure and heroic helpers of such suffering women!" (**Ramayana** 167).

Like Jatayu who tried to save Sita from Ravana, we should help the persons in danger. Rajaji pleads saying, "When we see any helpless person in danger or difficulty, let us think of Jatayu and with firm mind try to help regardless of circumstances" (**Ramayana** 174).

Though incarnations are the Almighty's divine births to save humanity, from the mire of sin, they show their human dimensions, at the most trying moments. Rama's agony doubled after listening to the sad narration of Sita being carried away by Ravana and Jatayu's tiresome fatal fight with Ravana. When Jatayu passed away, Rama felt as if his second father died. Rama's lamentation reached the peak of human sadness and misery, though he is an incarnation. Rajaji the humanist, could see this human element, even in Jesus Christ's lamentation, on the cross after crucifixion. Rajaji states:

> Rama's losing health and lamenting in sorrow may be compared to the behaviour of another incarnation honoured by another faith. It is said in the Bible that Jesus, nailed to the cross and about to give up his ghost, cried with a loud voice, "*Eloi! Eloi! lama sabachthaani*!" which is Hebrew for 'My God, my God, why have you forsaken me? The mystery of incarnation is ever the same. They are weighed with the dust and tears of the body they have taken and suffer and grieve like mortals. (**Ramayana** 174)

Vibheeshna tried to conscientize, his elder brother Ravana and bring him to a self realization of the mortal sin committed by Ravana in usurping Rama's wife, Sita. While all other chieftains of Ravana, urge him to wage a war, Vibheeshana alone raises a strong voice of moral protest, against any such confrontation, with the conviction that injustice could never win over *dharma* or Righteousness. Spiritual humanism according to Rajaji, prescribes strict adherence to the dictates of *dharma*. Rajaji renders the plea of Vibheeshana thus:

> At that Vibheeshana, the younger brother of Ravana, made them all sit down and said to the king with folded hand 'Brother what these people say is sweet to hear but not true or good to act upon. Anything done in violation of *Neeti shaastra*, (the science of politics) can only lead to grief and ruin. It is only after trying *Saama* (conciliation), *daana* (buying off the enemy) and *bheda* (sowing discord) that one should think of using *danda* (force of arms) against a foe. If you take the advice of these people and start a war now, it would mean the

> destruction of Lanka and all of us. We should also consider the demands of *Dharma*. It was not right, it was indeed a great sin for you, to have seized and brought Ramaa's wife here. We should first cleanse ourselves of this sin. (**Ramayana** 260)

The "Uttarakaanda" narrates, how Sita came out of the fire-ordeal, to prove her purity and integrity and went to the forest at last. The humanistic vision of Rajaji sees this sad episode as the manifestation of the endless misery, to which our womenfolk are subjected to Rajaji laments:

> If even after the fire-ordeal in the Yuddhakaanda, it is said in the Uttarakaanda that Sita was sent to the forest, we may take it that it mirrors the voiceless and endless suffering of our womenfolk. Sorrow and joy are both alike the play of God. God himself took with him his divine spouse, the embodiment of his own supreme compassion, into the world of men and women and enacted with her a great drama of joy and sorrow in the Ramayana. (**Ramayana** 311-12)

Sahitya Akademi published Rajaji's English translation of Kamban's *The Ayodhya Canto* in Tamil. It narrates the sad departure of Rama, Sita and Lakshmanaa to the forest and Bharata's agony at this tragic turn. In the forest, they met Guha "the boatman and a hunter" (**Ayodhya Canto** 85).

The genuine humanness and fraternity shown by Guha and his readiness to provide Rama with shelter and rich food moved Rama to address Guha as his own brother. Thus Rama showed an immortal instance of universal fraternity,

transgressing status, caste and creed. Rajaji renders Kamban's dramatic narration of Rama's fraternal address, thus:

> Said Rama then;
>
> 'Friend of my heart, dear as life itself,
>
> This younger brother is now,
>
> Your younger brother too;
>
> This princes is your sister dear,
>
> For you are now a brother by blood.
>
> Once brothers four we now are five'
>
> And we but wander apart for a little a time. (**Ayodhya Canto** 88)

When Bharata meets Rama in the forest, his grief becomes boundless, to see his elder brother in such a pathetic condition. Rajaji's rendition brings out Kamban's exposition of true filial love and affection between two brothers. His translation, "Like two gods they stood, / Compassion and innocence / Locked in embrace" (**Ayodhya Canto** 115), is moving. Thus Rajaji exhorts the Indians to have a recourse to the spiritual classics of the past to sustain and nurture the values of spiritual humanism.

The short story "Royappan" written by Rajaji in Tamil and translated into English, is a story of the basic human need for mother's love which provides the source of joy and strength to the child to grow in this world.

Venkatarayan was the son of Kandasamy Ayyar, a village accountant in Panjapatti in Krishnagiri Taluk. Kandasamy Ayyar's wife slipped into the Devil's pool, while climbing up after washing and died, leaving Venkatarayan, as a six

months old son. After some years Kandasamy Ayyar married again. Soon hatred and dislike for the boy grew in the step-mother and that influenced Kandasamy Ayyar too. Helplessness and lovelessness drove the boy to the extent of self pity, identifying himself, with a beaten dog. Rajaji says, "If anyone beat a dog or hit it with a stone and he saw it running away howling painfully, fellow-feeling would make him stand looking at them poor animal for a long while" (**Stories** 84).

Venkatarayan's school friend Sourimuthu took him to his mother Mary, who was an affectionate and loving mother to his son. Venkatarayan couldn't understand why his mother was not like Mary in showing, tender, motherly love? Mary showed the picture of Virgin Mary to Venkatarayan, who wanted to see God and pray to Him. It inspired him to go to a church nearby. He looked through the window and saw the picture of Mother Mary. The author narrates:

> There too he saw a big picture on a wall. He stood gazing at it. By and by the picture seemed to take life and step-out from the wall - a lady with a countenance that was love embodied. She came and stood beside him. He felt that his mother had indeed come to him in answer to his prayer and he was glad beyond measure. (**Stories** 86)

The mother took him to the priest's house, when the priest enquired the boy's identity. She disappeared. The boy wailed, "Mother! Mother! Screamed the boy. He ran hither and thither amidst the trees in the garden crying, 'Mother where have you gone? Come back! Come back!" (**Stories** 87). The priest consoled him saying that it was Virgin Mary, the Mother of Christ. But the boy replied, "No, no!

It was my mother. Not Mary. I will find her out. I cannot live without her. So raving in high fever, he ran away" (**Stories** 87).

At last he came to a small temple of Vinayaka, where he went in and fell down. At mid-night when he awoke, he could see his mother sitting beside him. She showed affection and said that she could come only at night and Venkatarayan came there to sleep at night every day and the mother too met him every day. One day when he saw the temple demolished, since a new temple had to be constructed, his illusion fled away. This realization brought him back to the harsh realities of the world. Neither the picture of Mother Mary on the wall nor the broken temple could bring him solace. When the boy one day approached the priest and conveyed his desire to become a Christian, his father Kandasamy Ayyar protested. The boy ran to Madras and got baptized with a new name "Royappan" and became a sales-boy, in a newspaper company.

The spiritual humanism which goes beyond the boundaries of the various faiths and unifies humanity under inter-faith fellowship is practised by Royappan. Previously he was a Brahmin boy. Then he got converted into a Christian. But he got consolation only in prostrating before the Vinayaka idol and sleeping behind it. When the surprised folk asked him, "Was your father a Christian, or, are you a convert?" He answered, "I became one, he would proudly say set off to sell his papers" (**Stories** 87). Thus Rajaji manifests the global dimension of the spiritual humanism through Royappan, who proves that God is love incarnate, whether in a church or in a Vinayaka temple.

The short story entitled "Judge Jayarama Aiyar's Penance" reveals the sanctity and validity of the Judge's conscience and proves that one's conscience is the voice of the Almighty. Judge Jayarama Aiyar sentenced, twenty one year old Veeran, to four years of rigorous imprisonment, for a crime of theft. Veeran confessed his commitment of that crime following the advice of a Police Officer, who promised him, the possibility of getting a lesser punishment. Kanakammal the wife of the judge, was present in the court. She asked, the judge at home, "What a severe sentence for so young a boy!" The judge replied, "An old offender must be awarded a severe sentence. That is the law." "You once told me that you too had stolen when you were young," reminded Kanakammal (**Stories** 189).

That night Jayarama Aiyar could not sleep. He had a dream, in which Jayarama Aiyar was in the accused box, convicted and in hand cuffs. Police took him away. Jayarama Aiyar applied for leave and went to Tirupati to meet a *Swamiyar* in the jungle to get his advice. Being stirred by his own offence in the past Jayarama Aiyar resolved to resign from the post of the Judge, since he found himself unworthy of holding such a post of high moral integrity. Jayarama Aiyar who hailed from a very poor family, was staying in the house of Mirasdar Ramaswami Aiyar, a rich friend of his father, on free board, to study in the school at Mayavaram. He was given two meals a day. Since he had no pocket money, he took a ten rupee note from the coat of Veeraraghava Aiyar, the son-in-law of Ramaswami. Everybody began to suspect Jayaraman. Visalakshi Ammal asked him directly and Jayaraman pleaded innocence. He wrote a letter to his father to take him away. Thus Judge Jayaraman narrated his past to the "Swamiyar" and

continued, "My parents educated somehow with great difficulty. I came up in life. God rescued me from what might have been a life of sin. I am myself a thief. How then can I punish other thieves?" (**Stories** 189).

Being tormented by the inner voice of God, the conscience in him, the judge confessed his unworthiness, to the Swamiyar thus:

> Yesterday, a lad was sent up for theft. I sentenced him to four years in jail. I could not reconcile myself to it. It is but proper that I should resign. God will not consent it my deceit. What shall I do, bewailed Jayarama Aiyar to *Swamiyar*. (**Stories** 189)

The judge sent the letter of resignation. But the government was not satisfied with the reason. The judge told the truth to the officer who came to enquire. The government after receiving the officer's report transferred him to the Civil judiciary. Rajaji's Spiritual humanism directs that, conscience being one's sentinel guarding against evil desires, it is to be respected and obeyed as the voice of God. This realization led the judge to continue his penance by donating fifty rupees to the prisoners, undergoing jail term in the local jail for the crime of theft.

Since conscience is the voice of God, whispering to us to avoid evil and to do good the Gita Acharya advocates to Arjuna to lay his faith in the Deity residing in everybody's heart, to overcome all the impediments in one's life. Thus the advocacy of **The Gita** invites mutual trust, love and persuasion to lead divine life. Rajaji states, "The God in everyone's heart, some call by the name conscience. The voice of what they call conscience is really the voice of God within. Conscience intervenes whenever one proposes to take a wrong step" (**Satyam** III: 43).

Thus Rajaji the Spiritual humanist impels the readers to listen and follow the dictates of their conscience or God's whisper. Socrates listened to Him in Athens and the Mahatma Gandhiji paid heed to Him in this country and in this age. Rajaji says that listening to Him thus, the men in power should earnestly forge together, to remove the 'Scourge of war from mankind'. Then, as Pope John declared in his Christmas message, "the star of Bethlehem may guide them on the path of peace". Rajaji also quotes from the Christmas message of queen Elizabeth of Great Britain that Christmas is, "the time for family reunions, present-giving and children's parties" (**Satyam** III: 45). Rajaji, the spiritual humanist, points out that the message of Christ is not only for Christians, but for the whole of humanity. He says:

> For that child was to show that there is nothing in heaven and earth that cannot be achieved by faith and by love and service to one's neighbour. Christmas may be a Christian festival, but its message goes out to all men and it is echoed by all men of understanding and goodwill everywhere. (**Satyam** III: 45)

The Christmas message of Queen Elizabeth, points out, that the people of the Commonwealth countries in Asia and Africa, once under the British, look upon the British as their friends and family members belonging to one Commonwealth family. Spiritual humanism considers God as Father and Mother of one single family, called humanity. The binding forces are love and the humility to listen to the whisper of God called conscience, selfless service to our neighbours, peace and universal fraternity. This spiritual and humanistic way of life will make even our neighbouring nations like Pakistan, our friends. We can win over Pakistan by love.

Rajaji protests against some "deluded men" who say, that we should annex Pakistan. Rajaji asserts:

> I have heard some good people say, 'We must one day take Pakistan and make India whole again.' These people are not imperialists but deluded men. The only way to take Pakistan is to build up an empire of goodwill and friendship. Pakistan may govern herself and India may govern herself. But friendship may govern herself and India may govern herself. (**Satyam** 111: 46)

Thus Rajaji the spiritual humanist warns that nationalism can be regulated to achieve right goals, through righteous means, that is only by religion. Aggressive tendencies to unleash authoritarian power on the meek and the weak will be effectively checked by religion and its advocacy to follow *Dharma* in every enactment. Rajaji states, "Religion will demand adherence to *dharma* in the means as well as in the ends. Thus religion serves to spiritualize politics and governance" (**Satyam** IV: 182).

The "Milk Ocean", is a short dialogue between Narada and Narayana. Narada expresses his grief over the ruin of the world, since everyone has forgotten Narayana. Narayana retorts, "What if men forget me? Would I disappear from existence? It is enough if men guard *dharma*. Teach them the ways of *dharma* Narada exclaims:

> I did teach them. Many others do so still. But what can exist if you are forgotten? Of what use is a mirror which has lost its coat of mercury

at its back? That is gone. How can *dharma* survive after God has been forgotten? (**Stories** 230).

Narayana exhorts Narada, to admonish the people to contain their desires, so that they can see their God. Narayana raises a curious question about the plight of Bharat, Narada answers, "I am ashamed to say, but things are bad there too" (**Stories** 232). Narayana evinces his keen interest in knowing the result of having sent Gandhi to Bharat. Narayana asks, "I sent Mohandas to Bharat. Did he not do anything?" (**Stories** 232). Narada openly admits, "Of course, he did a lot. But as soon as his back was turned, it was the same old story. People have forgotten him too. They have gone crazy over money" (**Stories** 232). Gandhi had taught us frugality and a simple life of great virtues. Rajaji portrays the bleak picture of the people, who believe in money power and not in the power of *dharma.* The anxiety of a Gandhian humanist is thus expressed by Narada.

Thus Rajaji the spiritual humanist propounds a strong advocacy for the creation of an inalienable link between humanity and God. Such an eternal reliance on God makes Religion and Science complementary and not contradictory. He asserts that the unique "Catholicity" in Hinduism can forge the humanity into a global family respecting all faiths and since it believes that all faiths lead to God.

Chapter VI

CONCLUSION

Humanism is considered to be an attitude, which emphasizes the dignity and worth of the individual. The basic tenet of Humanism is that people are rational beings, who have the capacity for Truth and innate Goodness. In principle, Humanism reiterates the significance of human beings their nature and their place in the universe. The Humanists, religious or non-religious, agree that human beings are the centre of their study. Humanism basically teaches that, every person possesses dignity and worth and so everybody should command the respect of every other person.

Humanism has different shades based on the Perspective, History and Chronology. It is a term which may seem easy to be defined. But down the centuries it has gradually imbibed the different trends and ideologies, different historical and philosophical backgrounds that, it is rather difficult to limit it to any one particular meaning. In the first chapter, the researcher has recorded the various ways and contexts, in which, Humanism has been used in Literature, Morality and Ethics, in Philosophy, in Politics, in Religion and in wide ranging fields. A sincere attempt has been made to capture all the nuances of humanism and present a historical and chronological survey of the origin and growth of Humanism as a literary, philosophic, social, political, cultural and spiritual movement in the West. It records

the origin and growth of the various types of Humanism, Sociological Humanism, Religious Humanism and Literary Humanism.

It proceeds to record the growth of Humanism in the realm of Indian writing in English culminating into a literary renaissance of reclaiming the past glory of India and its perennial Humanistic values and passing them down to the people of India. It shows how this Literary Renaissance, reviving the zeal to study the ancient Indian Classics, the Vedas and Upanishads, was vigorously started by the socio-political reformers, writers and humanists like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Rabindranath Tagore, Sarojini Naidu, Mahatma Gandhi, C. Rajagopalachari, N. C. Kelhar, Abul Kalam Azad, Rajendra Prasad, Pattabai Sitaramayya, Jawaharlal Nehru Vinoba Bhave, Dadabhai Naoroji, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Gopala Krishna Gokhale, V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Swami Vivekananda, Shri Aurobindo and Dr. Radhakrishnan bolstered the humanistic literary tradition by their eminent works of Humanism.

In such an Indian humanistic tradition C. Rajagopalachari proved to be a firm Gandhian, defending the individual's human worth, dignity and freedom against the onslaught of violence and oppression in any form and degree. As an indefatigable humanist, Rajaji reopened the moral and spiritual dialogue between the seers of the past and the Indian citizens of the present by his English Translations of **The Ramayana, The Mahabharata, The Bhagavad Gita, Bhaja Govindam, Upanishads, Ayodya-Kanto of Kamba Ramayana** and **Tirukkural**.

In the pre-independent India, Rajaji followed his master Gandhiji, as his loyal Southern commander of the freedom struggle and in the post-independent

India, Rajaji stood as the stern custodian of the Gandhian, Democratic, Moralistic and Spiritual Humanism.

The First Chapter classifies Rajaji's literary contribution, under the various literary genres like Essays, Short Stories, Epics and Classics in Translation. In all his works, Rajaji vigorously registers his strong humanistic protests, against the myriad types of violation of moral and spiritual principles in Individual's life and in public life. The significance of this study of Humanism in the Works of Rajaji becomes doubly imperative in this millennium of excessive consumerism and materialism, spreading spiritual and moral aridity, in private and public lives. The abandoning of humanistic values and unleashing of Terrorism by religious fanatics, threaten the Globe with a possible Third World War, exploiting Cyber Technology to use nuclear arms with an unfailing precision only to decimate, the citizens of the World named Humanity. In such a precarious survival of humanity, Gandhian Humanism promises a non-violent approach based on dharma or righteousness as the solution to the woes of the world.

So, the Second Chapter undertakes the scrutiny of Gandhian Humanism and its cardinal humanistic principles, found manifest in the works of Rajaji. It studies the poignant voicing of the Gandhian humanistic principles of Non-violence and *Satyagraha*, Trusteeship, *Swaraj* or Self-rule, Abolition of Untouchablity, Compassion to the poor, Prohibition of liquor, Spiritualization of Politics, a just Parliamentary Democracy, Hindu-Muslim fraternity, Amity among all Religious Universal peace and *Sarvodaya*. Nuclear Disarmament and World Government, The

Gandhian Humanism has become the foundation for Rajaji to raise his monument of humanism.

If the ideals of Gandhian Humanism are to be realized and cherished by the citizens of India and the World, Parliamentary Democracy is the best humanistic system of administration envisioned by Rajaji. Thus the Third Chapter evolves from the second, highlighting the firm faith of Rajaji, in the humanistic credentials of just Parliamentary Democracy ensuring the dignity, freedom and the welfare of the individual and of all the citizens of India and of all the people abroad. His works earnestly advocate the strict adherence to the practice of the prime virtues of the Democratic Humanism, namely Liberty, Fraternity, Equality, Altruism, Love, Peace, Amity, Dignity of Labour, Tolerance, Individual's worth and Dignity, Equality among Religions and Unity in Diversity. This chapter unravels, Rajaji's humanistic protests found in the works raised against the inhuman violation of the ruling party, in the name of stability and majority. He flays the ruling party's sinister designs of entrenching, "One Party Rule" and its reliance on turning Democracy into "Permit-licence-raj". His works also condemn the stifling of the freedom of Press and the Government's callousness to safeguard the sanctity of the Constitution, which is the bedrock of Indian Democracy. Rajaji directs the Indian democratic system to embrace morality and bolster it with spirituality to safeguard the humanistic credentials of Parliamentary Democracy.

So, the Fourth Chapter proceeds to study the Moralistic Humanism, in the works of Rajaji. It champions the inevitability of the strict conformity to ethical values in private life, as well as in public life. His works manifest Rajaji's

unshakeable commitment to the moral potency of Indian antiquity, as enshrined in the Indian heritage. His Moralistic Humanism is objective and pragmatic strengthening the basic, innate goodness of Man. It leads to the realization of the presence of Divinity in every man. Such awareness sustains one and transforms one into a good and God fearing person capable of working for Universal love, Peace, Equality, Fraternity and Welfare of Humanity. His works express strong humanistic advice and admonition to Humanity, to prevent the impending perils of the ill habits of smoking, using contraceptives, indulgence in pornography, immoral defection from one party to another, slavery to money power, callousness of the bureaucrats to the travails of the poor innocent peasants, the "Scientism" of the scientists relying only on rationalism negating Moralism and the impending perils of total annihilation of Humanity by a possible Nuclear Warfare in the Future. In a Gandhian way, Rajaji asserts that Moral Force cannot last long, without the Spiritual Strength gained by faith in God and which alone can be consistently constant and ever reliable in any trying human predicament.

So, the Fifth Chapter investigates the values of Spiritual humanism in the works of Rajaji. The spiritual strength of Gandhiji primarily inspired Rajaji to emulate his Master in his personal, political and social life. Rajaji reopened the spiritual dialogue between the wisdom of the ancient Indian Seers and the ignorant humanity of the modern times by his English translation of ancient Indian epics **The Ramayana and The Mahabharata** and the spiritual works namely, **The Bhagavad Gita, The Upanishads, Bhaja Govindam** and the English translation of the immortal Tamil works, namely, **Tirukkural**, **Avvaiyar's Song**,

Kambar's Ayodhya Canto and by his short stories, articles and speeches. The worship of God is in Rajaji's vision, "an elemental necessity" like the basic human urges, like thirst, hunger and sex. The Spiritual Humanism in Rajaji's works enlightens and encourages one to accept the whole of Humanity as One Family and God as our Father. Without Spiritual Humanism, mere material success and scientific prosperity would push humanity only to self-domination and annihilation. A profound sense of commitment to one's vocation, without any attachment to the fruits of his labour, is the real worship of God. Spiritual Humanism forms the basis of "Dharmic Polity" which succeeds over the sordid designs of the selfish "Satanic Polity". Spiritual Humanism in Rajaji's vision aims at the elimination of religious bigotry and selfishness in any form. Following Gandhiji as his only Master, Rajaji in unminced terms, corroborates that spiritualizing one's personal life and the public life alone, could pave the way for World Fraternity, Peace, Love and Human Welfare.

So the Chapter concludes that **Humanism in the Works of C. Rajagopalachari** is a blend of the Humanistic dimensions, namely Gandhian Humanism, Democratic Humanism, Moralistic Humanism and Spiritual Humanism. They are like the different sparkling facets of a diamond. The edifice of Humanism in the works of Rajagopalachari has been built on the bedrock of Gandhian Humanism which is fundamentally non-violent, in its holistic philosophy, democratic in governance, moralistic and spiritualistic in all its precept and practice. Further research on the works of Rajaji can be pursued under the following topics.

The Stream of Consciousness technique employed in the Short Stories of Rajaji can be studied. A study of the various moral themes found in the Short Stories of Rajaji can be done. A critical study can scrutinize the Archetypal patterns found in the works of Rajaji. A critical study of Moralism found in the Essays of Rajaji can be undertaken. The Moralism in the Essays of Rajaji can be compared with the Moralism found in the Essays of Bacon.

Rajaji's Speeches on Democracy can be compared with the Speeches of Edmund Burke in a research study. A comparative study can be done between the Vision of Rajaji and the Vision of Dr. Radhakrishnan. A comparative study of the Art and the vision in the Works of Gandhi and Rajaji can be taken for a comparative study of research.

The merits of Rajaji's translations of the classics can be subjected to a study of research. The Stylistic analysis of the merits of the prose works of Rajaji can be undertaken for a scholarly study.

WORKS CITED

WORKS CITED

PRIMARY SOURCES

Rajagopalachari, C. **Ambedkar Refuted**. Bombay: Hind Kitabs, 1946.

———. trans. **Avvaiar - A Great Tamil Poetess**. Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1971.

———. trans. **The Ayodhya Canto of the Ramayana as told by Kamban**. New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1970.

———. trans. **Baja Govindam**. 7th ed. Mumbai: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1997.

———. trans. **The Bhagavad Gita**. Mumbai: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1997.

———. **Chats Behind Bars**. Ed. S. Ganesan, Madras, 1931.

———. **Dear Reader**. 1st ed. Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1993.

———. **The Defence of India**. Madras: Rochouse, 1942.

———. **Hinduism Doctrine and Way of Life**. 5th ed. Mumbai: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1998.

———. **Hinduism Doctrine and Way of Life**. Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1998.

———. **Indian Prohibition Manual**. Madras: AICC, 1931.

——— **A Jail Diary**. Madras: Rochouse, 1941.

———. **Jail Diary**. 3rd ed. Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1991.

———. trans. **Kural: The Great Book of Tiru-Valluvar**. 19th ed. Mumbai: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1999.

———————. **M. K. Gandhi: His Message to India**. Madras: Indian Review, 1916.

———————. **Mahabharata**. 35th ed. Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1997.

———————. **Mankind Protests**. New Delhi: All India Peace Council, 1957.

———————. **Our Culture**. 7th ed. Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1996.

———————. **Plighted Word**. Delhi: Servants of Untouchables Society, 1933.

———————. **The Problem is Here and Now**. www.rajaji.net.

———————. **Ramayana.** 35th ed. Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1997.

———————. **Rajaji's Speeches**. Vol. 1. Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1978.

———————. **Rajaji's Speeches**. Vol. 2. Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1978.

———————. **Rescue Democracy from Money-Power**. Ed. R. R. Diwakar *et al.* 1st ed. Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1977.

———————. **Satyam Eva Jayate: A Collection of Articles Contributed to Swarajya and other Journals from 1956 to 1961**. Vol. 1. Madras: Bharathan Publications, 1961.

———————. **Satyam Eva Jayate: A Collection of Articles Contributed to Swarajya and other Journals from 1956 to 1961**. Vol. 2. Madras: Bharathan Publications, 1961.

———————. **Satyam Eva Jayate: A Collection of Articles Contributed to Swarajya and other Journals from 1961 to 1963**. Vol. 3. Madras: Bharathan Publications, 1965.

———————. **Satyam Eva Jayate: A Collection of Articles Contributed to Swarajya from January 1964 to December 1966**. Vol. 4. Madras: Bharathan Publications, 1970.

————. **Speeches Delivered by H. E. Sri. Chakravarti Rajagopalachari.** Calcutta: West Bengal Government Press, 1948.

————. **Speeches of C. Rajagopalachari Only Indian Governor General of India** (June 1948 - January 1950). 2nd ed. Coimbatore: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 2003.

————. **Speeches**. New Delhi: Governor General's Press, 1950.

————. **Stories for the Innocent**. 6th ed. Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1996.

————. **Towards a Responsible Press**. New Delhi: Publications Division, 1952.

————. **Upanishads**. 7th ed. Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1996.

————. **The Voice of the Uninvolved**. India: National Book Trust, 1960.

————. **The Way out**. Madras: Oxford, 1943.

SECONDARY SOURCES

BOOKS

Adams, Donald, J. **The Writer's Responsibility**. Great Britain: Seeker Warburg, 1946.

Ahluwalia, B. K. **Facets of Rajaji**. New Delhi: Newman, 1978.

Blackham, H. J. **Humanism**. Sussex: The Harvester Press, 1976.

Callaghan, James. **Rajaji Endowment Lectures: Democracy and Leadership - Our Interdependent World**. 1st ed. Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1982.

Chatterjee, Bimanesh. **Thousand Days with Rajaji**. New Delhi: Affiliated East-West, 1973.

Copley, Antony. **C. Rajagopalachari: Gandhi's Southern Commander**. Madras: Indo-British Historical Society, 1986.

David, M. D. **Cultural History of Modern India**. Allahabad: Kitab Mahal, 1973.

Davies, Tony. **Humanism: The New Critical Idiom**. London: Routledge, 1997.

Felton, Monica. **I Meet Rajaji**. Madras: Macmillan, 1962.

———————. **I Meet Rajaji**. Bombay: Jaico, 1964.

———————. **Rajaji**. New Delhi: Katha, 2003.

Gandhi, M. K. **The Selected Works of Mahatma Gandhi: The Voice of Truth**. Vol.6 Ed. Shriman Narayan. Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House, 1968.

Gandhi, Rajmohan. **The Rajaji Story-I: A Warrior from the South**. Madras: Bharathan Publications, 1978.

———————. **The Rajaji Story 1937-72**. Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1984.

Gora, Lavanam, and Mark Lindley. **Gandhi as we have known him**. 1st ed. New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House, 2005.

Guha, Ramachandra. **Understanding Rajaji** (Lecture in a Seminar in Rajaji Foundation). THE HINDU, December 10, 2004.

http://www.ceeby.com/people/Rajaji,cfm.

Iyengar, K. R. Srinivasa, **Indian Writing in English**. New Delhi: Sterling Publishers, 1994.

———————. **The Adventure of Criticism**. New Delhi: Sterling Publishers, 1985.

———————. **The Indian Contribution to English Literature**. Bombay: Karnataka, P. H., 1945.

Iyengar, Masti Venkatesa. **Rajaji** (2 Volumes). Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1976.

James, Caldekwood, and Harolde Toliver. **Perspectives on Fiction**. London: Oxford University Press, 1968.

Kamat, Jyotsma. **Chakravarti Rajagopalachari**. First Online: August 2, 2004. Page Last Updated: October 6, 2006.

Kesavan, C. R. **Unfolding Rajaji**. Chennai: East West Books, 2003.

Murthi, R. K. **C. Rajagopalachari: The True Patriot**. New Delhi: Rupa and Co., 2003.

Naik, M. K. **A History of Indian English Literature**. Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1982.

Nandakumar, Prema. **English: Indian Literature since Independence**. Ed. K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar. New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1973.

Narasimhachar, K. T. **C. Rajagopalachari: His Life and Mind**. New Delhi: Heritage Publishers, 1978.

Pollard, Arthur. **Satire**. Bristol: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1977.

Radhakrishnan, S. **Indian Philosophy**. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1977.

Rajaji 89. Madras: Bharathan, 1967.

Rajaji 93. Madras: Bharathan, 1971.

Rao, Venkat, N. **Pioneers of English Writing in India**. Madras: Annals of Oriental Research of the University of Madras, 1963.

Speecehs and Writings. Madras: Rajaji's Golden Jubilee Celebration Committee, 1972.

Watt, William, W. **An American Rhetoric**. USA: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1980.

Williams, Haydn Moore. **Galaxy of Indian Writings in English**. 1st ed. Delhi: Akshat Publications, 1987.

www.rajaji.net.The Problem

DICTIONARIES AND ENCYCLOPEDIAS

The Cambridge Dictionary of Philosophy. 2nd ed. Ed. Robert Audi. USA: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Dictionary of the History of Ideas. Vol. 2. Wiener, Philip, P. ed. New York: Scribner's Sons Publishers, 1973.

The Encyclopedia Americana. Vol. 14. New York: Americana Corporation, 1963.

Encyclopedia Britannica. Vol. 2. London. 1960.

The Encyclopedia of Philosophy. Vol. 3 & 4. Ed. Paul Edwards. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1967.

Funk & Wagnalls New Encyclopedia. Vol. 13. Ed. Robert S. Phillips, USA: Rand McNally.

The New Caxton Encyclopedia. Vol. 10. London: The Caxton Publishing Co. Ltd., 1973.

The New Encyclopaedia Britannica. Vol. 8, USA, 1981.

Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English, 6th ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Webster's Third International Dictionary. Vol. 2. USA: G & C Merriam Co., 1968.

The World Book Encyclopedia. USA: Field Enterprises Educational Corp., 1966.

World University Encyclopedia. Vol. 8. New York: Books Inc., 1968.

APPENDIX

List of the Words of Indian Languages used in the Thesis and their Meaning

Words	Languages	Meaning
Adakkam	Tamil	Restraint of desires.
Ahimsa	Sanskrit	Non-Violence.
Artha	Sanskrit	Purpose of attaining fame, wealth and status by following the dictates of vedic morality.
Alwaars	Tamil	Vaishnavite Saints of South India.
Annas	Hindi	A currency unit formerly used in India to 1/16 rupee.
Ashtavadhanam	Sanskrit	An ancient Indian skill having eight fold concentration with outstanding ability to concentrate and retain a wide range of knowledge.
Aswattha	Sanskrit	Banyan tree.
Atta	Hindi	A kind of wheat flour commonly used in South Asian Cooking.
Barabari	Hindi	Equality.
Bhakti	Sanskrit	Devotion.
Bhagavatar	Sanskrit	An esteemed Indian Carnatic music singer.
Chattaikarans	Hindi	Eurasians.
Cheri	Tamil	Settlements of the "Untouchables" or the people of "low caste" or "Dalits".
Dharma	Sanskrit	One's righteous duty to uphold the laws of the universe.
Gayatri Mantra	Sanskrit	It is called the Mother of Vedas and a highly revered mantra in Hinduism.
Gotra	Sanskrit	The lineage or clan assigned to a Hindu at birth. It is patrilineally assigned.

Words	Languages	Meaning
Harijan	Hindi	A term coined by Gandhiji for the untouchable which means Son of God.
Ishwar Allah tere nam	Hindi	Ishwar or Lord Ram and the one and only God or Allah. Gandhiji used this verse in praise of oneness of God and Religion.
Karma	Sanskrit	The concept of "action" or "deed" in Indian religions understood as that which causes the entire cycle of cause and effect.
Khadhi	Hindi	Hand spun cotton.
Kumkum	Sanskrit	A red colour powder used for social and religious purpose.
Kushi	Hindi	Happiness.
Laddhu	Hindi	Walnut and chickpea flour Fudge Balls sweet in taste.
Mantra	Sanskrit	A religious or mystical syllable of a poem used in rituals.
Naayanmars	Tamil	Saivite Saints of South India.
Nishkamakarma	Sanskrit	One's detachment in the fulfilment of the duty.
Permit-Licence Quota Raj	Hindi	Permit Quota Raj - Coined by Rajaji to mean the Government issuing permits to the industrialists donating to the ruling party's funds.
Sarvodaya	Sanskrit and Gujarati	Gandhiji coined it. "Sarva" means all and "udaya" meals uplift. So it means progress of all.
Samiyar	Sanskrit	A person who attained spiritual enlightenment.
Satya Meva Jayate	Sanskrit	A philosophy and practice of non-violent resistance deveoped by Gandhiji to fight against the British Colonial rule in India.

Words	Languages	Meaning
Sati	Sanskrit	A traditional Hindu practice of a widow immolating herself on her husband's funeral pyre.
Shanti	Sanskrit	Inner peace.
Shristadar	Hindi	Head of the magisterial section.
Swadharma	Sanskrit	The mode of external life which is consistent with our mode of life and duty that is natural to us.
Swami	Sanskrit	He who knows and is master of himself or owner of oneself or "free from senses".
Yogi	Sanskrit	He who is in control of his body, mind and soul with spiritual enlightenment.